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NOTICE: An * indicates material not previously disseminated in electronic form.

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Russia: Zyuganov Proposes 'National Accord Pact'

MM2506093796 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Jun 96 p 1

["Pact of National Accord" signed by Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the CPRF, under the general heading: "Gennadiy Zyuganov Proposes Conclusion of Pact-Contract, Creation of a Council of National Salvation, and Formation of a Coalition Government: For Accord and Trust"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

Pact of National Accord

The threat of self-destruction hangs over Russia today. A financial-economic collapse in conditions of a spiritual split is beginning in the country. All the claims about recovery from the crisis and stabilization are a lie. During the four years of the "reforms" we have lost around 43 percent of our national wealth. This slump is continuing. Ahead lies a dead-end. Russia's expenditure on scientific research is 30 times less than in the United States and six times less than in Germany.

Russia imports 70 percent of its food, one-fourth of which is a health hazard. We pay foreign food producers $3 billion every quarter. This is more than the agro-industrial complex' share of federal budget expenditure.

By the end of the next presidential term the Russian population, which has declined in recent years, could fall by a further 10-15 million people. Thus the problems of survival face the nation in all their urgency.

The difficulties in the solution of these problems are aggravated by the split in society. One-half of the nation, one-half of the regions are in confrontational mood.

It is obvious that none of the problems can be resolved by any one acting alone — neither a single political leader nor a single political party or movement. We can only do this together.

That is why I am proposing the conclusion of a Pact-Contract of National Accord and thus of joint coordinated actions by all society's healthy forces for the salvation of the fatherland.

What common positions could unite us and, in my view, what could form the basis of the Pact on National Accord?

1. Russia has its own path of development. This is the path forward, not backward. This is the evolutionary path of socially oriented reforms which do not split society into a handful of rich people and a mass of poor people and do not lead to civil confrontation.

2. The path of Russia's salvation lies only through the development of national production in all types of ownership. And this means protecting the Russian producer against savage taxation, the tyranny of officials, the taunts of racketeers, and the diktat of foreign capital.

3. Russia needs food security and a highly efficient sector of the agrarian economy. And this means that comprehensive help for the peasant and all forms of economic activity on the land, the establishment of price parity for agricultural and industrial output, and the repayment of debts.

4. We must stop the extinction of the nation and the destruction of its human potential. This means that paramount attention must be paid to the adoption of urgent measures to improve people's well-being, eliminate unemployment, ensure the prompt payment of wages, pensions, and allowances, and restore the public health care system, education, and social provision.

5. We all recognize that Russia's future place in the world is determined by the level of development of science, culture, and education. Thus the state must do everything to preserve the intellectual and spiritual potential of the nation.

6. Russia must not be allowed to be turned into a criminal society. Hence there is the most urgent need to declare a ruthless war on crime, corruption, and the embezzlement of public funds. The main aim here is to excise the social and economic roots of these pernicious phenomena.

7. Thousand-year old Russia was and remains a country of over 100 peoples and nations. We advocate the development of all aspects of the multinational community and the exclusion of national strife and ethnic wars. The bloody carnage in Chechnya must be ended as soon as possible. In the future all centers of nationalism, separatism, anti-Semitism, and chauvinism must be extinguished by peaceful means.

8. The Russian Army must be reformed and transformed into a firmer and more reliable instrument for protecting the interests of the whole nation. It cannot be used to combat its own people. The many-centuries old patriotic traditions and respect and care for soldiers — the protectors of the motherland — are our national priority.

9. Great Russia must regain its prestige and influence in the world and do everything to promote the processes of integration on the territory of the former USSR. The basis of this is the strengthening of the nation's economic, spiritual, and defense potential with the unconditional observance of the norms of international law.

10. All four years of the next presidency must be dedicated to the solution of these problems which are vitally important for the country. This process is inseparable from the new steps in the development and strengthening of democracy, the multiparty system, the comprehensive protection of human and civil rights and freedoms, and a consideration of the interests not only of the majority but also of the minority of the population.

With these purposes in mind I propose the creation of a special body guaranteeing the unification of the interests of all society's main political forces — the Council of National Accord — and the formation of a coalition government of people's trust.

[Signed] G. Zyuganov

Russia: Zyuganov Proposes Members of Coalition Government

MM2506095396 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Jun 96 p 1

[Undated proposal by Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, "On the Formation of a Coalition Government of People's Trust" under the general heading: "Gennadiy Zyuganov Proposes Conclusion of Pact-Contract, Creation of Council of National Salvation [as published], and Formation of Coalition Government: For Accord and Trust"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Compatriots!

The time is past when Russian society was able to live off the material, cultural, and political resources created by the two or three preceding generations. The country is being plunged into a new phase of systemic crisis. The processes launched over the last three or four years, which have brought the country to financial and economic collapse, are coming to the fore.

The consequences of this situation in the economy are that few options remain for escaping from the crisis.

The historical experience of Russia and the developed countries illustrates that the creation of a coalition government of people's trust is one of the main effective instruments for overcoming the crisis.

A coalition government provides far fuller representation of the voters' interests and it is not a system of personal loyalty but a system of balanced interests and fairly rigorous reciprocal checks that operates within it.

The prime criterion for evaluating the activity of a coalition government is its ability to end the decline in production and increase the population's real incomes.

Deriving historical lessons from past experience, I propose the following principles for the formation of a coalition government of people's trust:

1. The policy, composition, and allocation of portfolios in the government will match the alignment of political forces in the country which won a vote of confidence in the last parliamentary elections.

2. In its activity the government will rely on the Federal Assembly, which will, as a result of constitutional amendments, be given an opportunity to exercise broader supervision of the government's activity.

3. The fundamental ideology behind the government's activity is state patriotism and the interests of all the country's citizens.

4. The government works in accordance with a general program formulated by the president and the chambers of the Federal Assembly.

5. All participants in government bear political responsibility for the implementation of the ratified program, guided in so doing by state rather than party interests.

6. The principles for the formation of the government and the rules governing its operation are formalized in law.

7. Professionalism and readiness to work for the good of the Fatherland and the people constitute the key approach to the staffing of the government.

I propose that the government of people's trust be formed quantitatively on the following conditions:

one-third of the government is formed in response to suggestions from the people's patriotic bloc;

one-third comes from political parties and movements represented by factions in the State Duma which are not members of the people's patriotic bloc;

one-third comes from members of the current government. As a result of talks these proposals have been accepted by 12 ministers and 27 deputy ministers in the current Russian Federation Government.

I am prepared to ask Moscow Mayor Yu.M. Luzhkov, Bashkortostan President M.G. Rakhimov, and a whole series of other Russian regional leaders, among others, to join the government.

The bloc of people's patriotic forces has submitted proposals regarding the inclusion in the government of people's trust of the following people in accordance with the quota:

1. Sergey Nikolayevich Baburin, born 1959, Russian, deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma, candidate of juridical sciences;

2. Viktor Mikhaylovich Vidmanov, born 1934, Mordvin, academician, president of the Rosagropromstroy corporation;

3. Stanislav Sergeyevich Govorukhin, born 1936, Russian, movie director, chairman of the State Duma Committee for Culture;

4. Svetlana Petrovna Goryacheva, born 1947, Russian, lawyer, deputy chairman of the State Duma;

5. Nikolay Nikolayevich Gubenko, born 1941, Ukrainian, actor, chief producer of the Taganka Theater, and State Duma deputy;

6. Sergey Yuryevich Glazyev, born 1961, Russian, doctor of economic sciences, chairman of the Democratic Party of Russia;

7. Viktor Ivanovich Ilyukhin, born 1949, Russian, lawyer, chairman of the State Duma Committee for Security;

8. Valentin Afanasyevich Koptyug, born 1931, Belarusian, academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences, director of the Siberian Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences;

9. Yuriy Dmitriyevich Maslyukov, born 1937, Russian, candidate of economic sciences, chairman of the State Duma Committee for Economic Policy;

10. Vitaliy Petrovich Mukha, born 1936, Russian, engineer, head of Novosibirsk Oblast administration;

11. Petr Vasilyevich Romanov, born 1943, Russian, doctor of technical sciences, Hero of Socialist Labor, State Duma deputy;

12. Svetlana Petrovna Savitskaya, born 1948, Russian, candidate of technical sciences, academician of the International Academy of Astronautics, State Duma deputy;

13. Vasiliy Aleksandrovich Starodubtsev, born 1932, Russian, candidate of agricultural sciences, Hero of Socialist Labor, chairman of the Agrarian Union of Russia;

14. Amangeldy Moldagazyyevich Tuleyev, born 1944, Kazakh, chairman of Kemerovo Oblast Legislative Assembly, member of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council

The other two-thirds of the government could be formed in accordance with the principle that I proposed above — from parties and movements as well as from the current government.

Experience provides convincing evidence that a coalition government must invariably be based on the mechanism of a rule-of-law state and the smooth operation and complementarity of all branches of power — the legislature, executive, and the judiciary.

The election of the State Duma, Second Convocation, and the formation of the Federation Council on a new basis made it possible to prepare for the Russian Federation presidential election at the time laid down by the Russian Federation Constitution. Conciliation procedures are by and large operating effectively between federal organs of state power and a joint lawmaking process has been organized and is being refined. The State Duma has prepared a draft federal law "On the Russian Federation Government."

Thus, favorable political and legal preconditions are objectively developing for the possibility of a Russian Federation coalition government to be considered and tackled in practice.

[Signed] G. Zyuganov

Russia: Zyuganov Lists Possible 'National Accord' Council Members

MM2506081896 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Jun 96 p 1

[Undated proposal by Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, "On the Creation of a Council for National Accord" under the general heading: "Gennadiy Zyuganov Proposes Conclusion of Pact-Contract, Creation of Council of National Salvation [as published], and Formation of Coalition Government: For Accord and Trust"]

[FBIS Translated Text] With a view to preventing inevitable tragic consequences, all social and political forces must be consolidated and civil peace ensured.

Aware of this, I have decided, in the event of my election as Russian Federation president, to create a Council of National Accord.

The Council's main tasks are:

to coordinate and harmonize the actions of parties, movements, and religions in order to preserve the integrity of the country and secure national unity and social partnership;

to ensure the rights and freedoms of the individual and of the country's nations and ethnic groups;

to formulate the bases of Russian Federation domestic and foreign policy;

to form a coalition government of people's trust.

I am proposing to include in the Council's membership representatives of the government, leaders of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly chambers, leaders of the State Duma factions and deputies' groups, leaders of leading parties and movements, and public organizations, and representatives of Russia's trade unions, creative unions, and academics of sciences.

I think that in accordance with these principles the following could be members of the Council:

the chairman of the Federation Council;

the chairman of the State Duma;

V.A. Kuptsov of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation faction;

V.V. Zhirinovskiy of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia faction;

S.G. Belyayev of the Russia Is Our Home faction;

G.A. Yavlinskiy of the Yabloko faction;

N.M. Kharitonov of the Agrarian deputies' group;

N.I. Ryzhkov of the People's Power deputies' group;

V.S. Medvedev of the Regions of Russia deputies' group;

S.N. Baburin of the Russian National Union;

V.M. Vidmanov of the Rosagropromstroy corporation;

Yu.M. Voronin, politician;

V.M. Vorotnikov of the Council of Veterans of the Russian Federation;

S.Yu. Glazyev of the Democratic Party of Russia;

S.S. Govorukhin, politician;

S.P. Goryacheva, politician;

A.S. Davydov of the Agrarian Trade Union;

A.Ya. Degtyarev, public figure;

V.I. Ilyukhin, politician;

V.B. Isakov, politician;

V.I. Zorkaltsev, politician;

V.A. Koptyug, vice president of the Russian Academy of Sciences;

G.V. Kostin, public figure;

M.I. Lapshin of the Agrarian Party of Russia;

I.V. Muravyev of the People's Alliance movement;

I.I. Melnikov, politician;

Yu.D. Maslyukov, politician;

G.V. Osipov, academician of the Russian Academy of Sciences;

A.I. Podberezkin of Russia's Spiritual Legacy;

D.O. Rogozin of the Congress of Russian Communities movement;

P.V. Romanov, politician;

A.V. Rutskoy of the Derzhava movement;

V.G. Rasputin, writer;

S.Ye. Savitskaya, pilot cosmonaut of the USSR;

V.T. Saykin, politician;

V.S. Sokolov of the "Construction" movement;

A.M. Tuleyev, politician;

S.N. Fedorov, public figure;

O.S. Shenin, politician;

M.V. Shmakov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia.

The Council could also include:

representatives of current power and law-enforcement structures;

delegated representatives of Russia's main religions (the Orthodox Church, Islam, Buddhism, Judaism),

representatives of workers' organizations, the Cossacks, youth and women's movements, and the mass media.

I will propose the requisite addenda to the Russian Federation Constitution to the Federal Assembly. After their adoption the Council for National Accord will be transformed into the State Council of Russia.

[Signed] G. Zyuganov

Russia: Zyuganov Convinced of Support for Coalition Government

LD2506103396 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0950 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 25 (Interfax) — Russian Communist leader Gennadiy Zyuganov is convinced his idea of signing a national accord pact and forming a coalition government will win support among voters.

"I have noticed that people are tired of confrontation and they will support anyone offering a unifying idea," he told a Tuesday news conference in Moscow.

He is not stopped by the fact that neither Moscow mayor Yuriy Luzhkov, nor head of the Novosibirsk regional administration Vitaliy Mukha nor President of Bashkortostan Murtaza Rakhimov have agreed to join the coalition government.

Zyuganov said before putting forward the initiative he consulted all three politicians, and their evaluation of the situation in the country and its regions was more important for him than their consent.

The Communist leader said offers were made to those who have proved their ability to govern.

He said he did not discuss the composition of the coalition government during his Monday meeting with Luzhkov.

"This is the wrong time," Zyuganov said. He said they discussed primarily the initiatives of the mayor in reforming local self-government.

He also told the press that he met with Federation Council chairman Yegor Stroyev Tuesday morning and planned to announce his initiatives in the upper house of parliament Wednesday.

Zyuganov partly disclosed the mechanism of his consultations with Cabinet members. In preparation for numerous parliamentary hearings, members of the Communist Duma faction met practically all ministers and deputies, he said. This experience gives an idea of the approaches and abilities of all of the key figures in the executive bodies, Zyuganov said.

Russia: Zyuganov's Offer to Bashkir President Causes Indignation

LD2406124796 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1058 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The announcement by Gennadiy Zyuganov, presidential candidate and leader of the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation], that he is ready to offer the president of Bashkortostan a post in the government of popular trust "is provocatory," said Alik Shakirov, press secretary of [Bashkortostan President] Murtaza Rakhimov, speaking to Ekho Moskvy radio station.

He stressed that "this statement means nothing to Murtaza Rakhimov and he will hardly consent if he receives such an offer officially."

"Both our republic and Moscow know that Murtaza Rakhimov is a consistent adherent of the policies being followed today by Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin," Alik Shakirov stressed. "From the very start of the election campaign the president of Bashkortostan clearly expressed his support for Boris Yeltsin. He visited half of the republic's districts before the first round of the presidential election to campaign for the current president of Russia."

Russia: Yeltsin Supporter Critical of Zyuganov's Coalition Idea

LD2406192596 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1757 GMT 24 Jun 96

[By Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 24 (Itar-Tass) — Russian Communist Party leader Gennadiy Zyuganov's call for signing a national accord pact is a late attempt to join the Civic Accord Treaty initiated by Russian President Boris Yeltsin in 1993, a high-ranking official said.

Vyacheslav Nikonov, deputy head of a movement of public support for the president's reelection, told Itar-Tass on Monday that Zyuganov's idea is an "attempt to form an unconstitutional bureaucratic body the functions of which are not clear."

At the same time, he welcomed the fact that three years after the signing of the Civic Accord Treaty Zyuganov realised the importance of national consensus in society.

Commenting on the list of a coalition government announced by Zyuganov today, Nikonov said that "the communists have named only candidates from the popular patriotic bloc," which does not reflect the idea of a coalition government.

Russia: Zyuganov Coalition Suggestion 'Opportunist'

MM2506083896 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 Jun 96 p 1

[Article by Lyubov Volodina: "A Coalition Zyuganov-Style Is the Same Kind of Centaur as the Union of Patriotism and Communism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The bloc of "people's patriots" yesterday undertook its decisive election ploy, obviously the last before the second round. Gennadiy Zyuganov, who has drastically lost the tempo of his election campaign since 16 June, has decided to strike voters with a "new" idea and yesterday announced the creation of a "council of national accord." If he is elected Russian Federation president he promises to rely on this council, whose main tasks are "the coordination and harmonization" of the actions of all political and public forces and also the formation of a "coalition government of national trust."

Gennadiy Andreyevich has obviously been demoralized, first, by the alliance of Yeltsin and Lebed, and, second, by the unanimous (if not verbally then in essence) statements by all the other candidates of their support for the incumbent president or nonsupport for the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] leader. It had become obvious that the "left-wing" coalition on its own is not big enough to win the elections and then the idea of a coalition government floated to the surface again — with the participation not only of the "people's patriots" but also of other political forces with factions in the Duma and even (!) "members of the existing government."

Let us be frank, this is an overtly opportunist idea and as "new" as communism itself, from which Mr. Zyuganov has recently been dissociating himself. All of Russia's most recent history since 1991 has been proceeding under the sign of debate on the possibility of a coalition government and with its de facto existence. If you look into it our government has always been a coalition government and it is this circumstance — that is political diversity — which many specialists are inclined to use to explain the halfheartedness and inconsistency of the economic reforms.

While publicly attracting voters with a "coalition government" Messrs. the communist leaders are quietly giving their campaigners instructions (ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI has found this out from a source in the CPRF apparatus) to change their propaganda motif: In private conversations with voters they must not praise Zyuganov or even curse Yeltsin but intimidate the peaceful man in the street with the return to the government of the "first wave" reformers, for instance Mr. Chubays, paying no attention here either to the denial made by Boris Yeltsin nor to the statement of the former first vice premier himself, who denies the possibility.

That is in their campaigning the people's-patriotic forces are operating in an entirely Bolshevik spirit: Publicly they are doing one thing while quietly they are doing another and here they do not spurn openly borrowing other people's ideas. Having rejected the social accord treaty in 1994 the Communists today are suggesting a "national accord pact (!)" repeating almost verbatim the two-year-old theses of their political opponents.

Evidently Zyuganov's team is already very pessimistic about its chances in the second round if it is adopting ideas openly alien to it and is prepared to suggest cooperation to politicians who state clearly and unambiguously that they do not accept communist revenge.

Russia: Zyuganov Coalition Said Unworkable; Reactions Cited

MM2506091796 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jun 96 p 1

[Article by Valeriy Vyzhutovich under the "People and Politics" rubric: "The Communists Would Like To See Them at the Head of Their Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On Monday Gennadiy Zyuganov officially made public his proposals for forming the next cabinet. The CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] leader declared that, if he wins the election, he intends to create a coalition government. One-third of the posts in this government would go to members of the people's patriotic bloc, one-third to nominees [vydvizhentsy] of the other political associations represented in the State Duma, and one-third to current ministers.

Gennadiy Zyuganov has been distributing posts in his future cabinet for several months now. But hitherto all attempts to ascertain whom the Communist leader wishes to accommodate in which state portfolio have had no success. First the CPRF head would say that "the final list has to be approved," then he wopuld drop intriguing half-hints. A few days ago he said that the composition of the government of "people's trust" would be published after the second round of the election. He was equally "specific" about the proposed personalities: "Anyone who has knowledge, abilities, and talent and who would like to do something for the fatherland can join the coalition government which the bloc of people's patriotic forces intends to create."

The cabinet's composition has now acquired a quite clear outline: Sergey Baburin, Svetlana Goryacheva, Aman Tuleyev, Viktor Ilyukhin, Sergey Glazyev, Nikolay Gubenko, Vasiliy Starodubtsev, Yuriy Maslyukov, Stanislav Govorukhin, Svetlana Savitskaya.... These are not chance names, and they are perfectly comparable with each other. No one is breaking ranks here; conversely, even, the absence of Tuleyev, let us suppose, or Goryacheva, let us assume, from this list would create the sensation of a yawning gap.

But what really appears extremely innovative in the opposition's proposals is the nomination of a representative of non-Communist forces for the post of premier. Who, precisely?

The list of politicians accorded the honor of heading the "people's patriotic" government, which was discussed at a closed conference of the leadership of the people's patriotic bloc last week, is highly remarkable. Svyatoslav Fedorov above all. In recruiting him as their ally, the participants in the closed conference disregarded such a trifling detail as the public declaration by Fedorov himself of his intention to vote for Yeltsin in the second round.

The leaders of the people's patriotic bloc also count Grigoriy Yavlinskiy among the candidates for the premiership who are acceptable to them. But his repeated and absolutely definite statements about the Communists and their policies certainly do not hint that "Yabloko's" leader will agree to accept the reins of government from the hands of the CPRF leader.

Zhirinovskiy's candidacy does not yet figure among the "people's patriotic" nominees for the post of premier. But Zyuganov does not rule out a LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] representative's participation in the government coalition, since "Zhirinovskiy has capable people." Incidentally, Zhirinovskiy himself has already made it known, without waiting for any particular invitation, that he is prepared to head the cabinet. Admittedly, as the LDPR chairman told IZVESTIYA, he is prepared to make this self-sacrifice with the sole aim of neutralizing Zyuganov if the latter — you never can tell — becomes president. In general, long-term cooperation between the Communists and the Liberal Democrats seems unlikely, since, as Zyuganov once remarked, "sometimes Zhirinovskiy meets our criteria in the morning, but not after dinner."

The opposition's intention to head the cabinet with Yegor Stroyev, the present chairman of the Federation Council, who long ago had an irrevocable parting of the ways with his former comrades in the party, smacks of the same smug daydreaming. Starry-eyed dreaminess is also the hallmark of the proposal to place Sverdlovsk Governor Eduard Rossel in the premier's seat.

But the most revolutionary cadre proposal is the application by the Russian National Union to have Yuriy Luzhkov appointed head of a Communist government. Only in a nightmare can you imagine Moscow's mayor, who has just been reelected and has once again shown his political strength, in the same company as Aman Tuleyev or Sergey Baburin.

In short, the recreation of the unforgettable "inviolable bloc of Communists and nonparty people" at a new historical stage will hardly be successful. But the way the Communists, with their long-standing propensity for all kinds of expropriations, control other people's political capital without asking permission is highly indicative. With truly Leninist panache they hire everything that is in even the smallest demand before the second round of the election, whether ideas or live politicians. Thereby they try to ensure additional votes for Zyuganov, votes which in no way belong to him.

[The article is accompanied by photographs of six politicians, quoting their views as follows]

Svyatoslav Fedorov: "I support Boris Yeltsin. His program is more progressive than Gennadiy Zyuganov's."

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy: "There can be no question of my participation in a Communist government."

Yegor Stroyev: "Attempts to place me in the premier's seat without my consent betray the uncertainty of those who have undertaken this."

Eduard Rossel: "I have no wish to be present in a Communist government in any capacity, since I share neither the positions of the CPRF as a whole nor those of Zyuganov personally."

Yuriy Luzhkov: "I have no intention of being either president or premier. I will serve Moscow and Muscovites. I support Boris Yeltsin and his policy of reforms."

He Would Like To See Himself at the Head of a Communist Government

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy: "In the event of a win for Zyuganov I am prepared to head the government in order to neutralize the Communists."

Russia: 'Palace Coup' Saga To Clinch Zyuganov Victory

MM2406135296 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 2

["Columnist's Opinion" by Konstantin Molchanov: "Boris Yeltsin's 'Third Putsch'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The events of 19-20 June, despite the fact that they have been the sole talking point on all television channels for days on end, have left too many questions unanswered.

So who was it that arrested Messrs. Astafyev and Lisovskiy — the policeman on duty at the exit from Government House or Korzhakov and Barsukov personally? In what way did they issue their directives — in concert maybe? What currency was it in the box which these gentlemen were trying to carry out of the building, and where were they taking it? Where did this money come from, and how specifically was this cash going to be used just before the second round of the presidential elections? Why was it Chubays — the man who, as is known, ensures the funding of Yeltsin's election campaign — who got the whole of Moscow agitated in the middle of the night and got Chernomyrdin, Lebed, and television broadcasters out of bed? How was the "arrest" of third-ranking officials on the presidential campaign staff (if indeed there was an arrest) and the confiscation of the box of money going to be able to prevent the second round of voting being held? Is there real proof that the generals were preparing a "strong-arm" scenario for completing the elections? What does Soskovets have to do with all this?

It has been announced that the general prosecutor has been tasked with investigating all the circumstances of this "murky story" (to use Lebed's expression). But, as has frequently been the case in the past, the president, without waiting for the results of the investigation, hastily sends three high-ranking state officials into retirement. The disparity between the scale of "what was done" and the punishment inflicted forces one to look for other motives — political and maybe political-criminal — for what happened.

Let us try to get to the bottom of questions the answers to which are perfectly obvious.

Was there a "putsch?" If you look at what Aleksandr Lebed and Anatoliy Chubays were talking about all day on 20 June — namely some kind of "conspiracy" by the generals with a view to wrecking the second round of the elections and "plunging the country into the abyss of blood chaos" (another Lebed expression) — most likely there was nothing of the sort. There is no reason to regard the detention of two election show business figures who were not known to many people before this as the start of a new putsch. The wrong figures are involved. Plus they were detained not by some "opposition thugs" but by legitimate law and order organs. So where is the "bloody chaos" here?

Nevertheless a putsch, or rather a "palace coup" did take place; only — as in our previous history (1991, 1993) — it was carried out by the very people who are now accusing other people of this. In this instance, successfully exploiting the arrest situation or specially provoking it, the coup in the president's Kremlin entourage was committed by...Chubays and Chernomyrdin, admittedly using Lebed.

Two groupings in Yeltsin's team — the "enforcers" [siloviki] (Korzhakov, Barsukov, Grachev, Yegorov, and Soskovets) and the "intellectuals" (Chubays, Kozyrev, Filatov, Satarov, and others) — have long been at war. Their struggle for influence over the president always became more acute during elections. During the December 1995 Duma elections it was the "Intellectuals" who suffered, being removed one by one from their posts. During these elections they saw an opportunity to take revenge and in turn oust the "enforcers."

We are thus dealing with a major "showdown" within the Yeltsin team in the wake of the failure in the first of the elections, nothing more. And Chubays' incantations to the effect that "the last nail has been hammered into the coffin known as 'communism'" are, as they say, "barking up the wrong tree"; these events have nothing at all to do with the Communists and Zyuganov's people's patriotic bloc.

Was this a random action or was it specially planned? In general nothing random happens during a critical time like the interval between the two rounds of a presidential election. Following the failure in the first round there was probably an outbreak of panic in the Yeltsin teams and feverish attempts started to be made to find solutions and ploys which would substantially change the situation in his favor. Remembering that the president presents himself most graphically during putsches, it was decided to organize something of this nature for him. In the final weeks before 16 June active attempts were made to provoke the Communists into this, which would have been the ideal option for the Yeltsin team, of course. But the Communists did not succumb to the provocations. There was nothing else but to organize the thing themselves.

The fact that everything is in accordance with some plan rather than happening by chance is indicated by the fact that "putsch No. 3" happened three days after Lebed's appointment and two days after his statement about an alleged "conspiracy" in the Ministry of Defense.

It is clear that to carry out the removal the two most powerful generals before Lebed appeared in the Kremlin would have been impossible in principle. But again a logical sequence was skillfullly observed: First Grachev (this did not even have to be explained to the public), then Korzhakov and Barsukov (here some kind of excuse, a connection, was needed). Nor is it mere coincidence that that all this has been happening day by day since the start of the second election campaign; let us remind you that on the day the first campaign started Ilyushenko was arrested.

Why is all this needed? The authors of the "putsch no. 3" scenario were pursuing several objectives at once: 1. Strengthening Yeltsin's positions in the second round by relieving him of the most odious individuals in his entourage, which Gaydar, Yavlinskiy, and other "democrats" had long been demanding of him. This act of sacrifice by the president was intended to demonstrate his firmness, decisiveness, and mercilessness toward "enemies of democracy." 2. Allowing the president's new comrade in arms, General Lebed, to spread his wings and show himself in action so his electorate would feel total moral gratification at the speed and severity with which their favorite was imposing order in Russia. 3. Getting even with personal rivals in the presidential entourage, squeezing them out, retrieving their lost positions in the Kremlin, and, in the event of a Yeltsin win, also claiming the credit for it with all the ensuing consequences. 4. But purely criminal motives should not be ruled out, either, such as: a desire to cover tracks leading to that box of foreign currency. What if the provenance of this money might cause a major (maybe even international) furor? What if it was intended to use it not completely legally (for bribes, for example)? Or maybe some people, fearing the president would lose, were simply trying to save at least some of the money involved in the campaign, and the "enforcers" stopped them?

In any case it is not just a straightforward little box. And its role in the events of the night of 19-20 June is crucial. Whether it is seriously compromising material (against whom?) or a trap with provocative intent. Or maybe both at once. Or is it a question of blackmail against the president himself? Is it not strange that Chubays managed to convince him so quickly to remove from office the last people who were closest to him?

How will the voter react to all this? Presidential analysts on television (all channels without exception) are talking avidly about the president's latest "forceful move" and saying that he now has victory in his pocket. This also needs looking at. From the viewpoint of the ordinary voter this entire saga looks somewhat different and pretty unsavory.

Starting with the fact that the word "putsch" has long been repugnant to our citizens. Back in 1991 they viewed the August events as a stage show. If Yeltsin had not intervened at the time and described the Soviet leadership's actions as a putsch, nothing would have happened. And none other than Yeltsin was the organizer of the events of September-October 1993, which were described at the time as a "second putsch." It was also on his orders, as is known, that combat operations were started in Chechnya in December 1994. And then, two weeks before an election, they are trying to assure us that a "State Committee for the State of Emergency Mark 3" putsch has again occurred in Russia. But whereas in October this was a tragedy, now it is a sordid farce. How often can this happen?! We've had enough!

And the main point is that everything always starts at the top, in the Kremlin. They all write "Yeltsin means stability" while they are themselves destabilizing society. A big fuss is being made about nothing. People are killing and robbing every day in Russia, and nothing happens. That same Barsukov screwed up the operation to eliminate the guerrillas in Pervomayskoye — and nothing happened, he wasn't fired. But two showmen get arrested carrying foreign currency and the whole country is on tenterhooks all night and by midday the country is left without the leaders of its power structures. And you call this stability?

That is what the voter thinks when he looks at this entire mess, and he is absolutely right.

Something which analysts who have nothing else to do other than savor the president's every word, every gesture, see as a "strong presidential move," is seen by the ordinary voter as run of the mill treachery and indecency. One thing nobody in Russia can doubt is Korzhakov's loyalty to his president. While the analysts are rejoicing with cries of "Decisive! Audacious!" people are gloomily shaking their heads and saying: "He would sell his own mother for the sake of power."

During his presidency Yeltsin has jettisoned more than 50 of his comrades in arms. They include Silayev and Gaydar, Khasbulatov and Rutskoy, Burbulis and Poltoranin, Skokov and Boldyrev, Zorkin and Kovalev; a handful of vice premiers — Yavlinskiy, Saburov, B. Fedorov, Shumeyko, Chubays, Shakhray, and Soskovets; an equal number of ministers — Aven, Glazyev, Saltykov, N. Fedorov, Pamfilova, Yerin, Nazarchuk, Nechayev, Kozyrev, and Grachev; a whole five security service leaders — Ivanenko, Barannikov, Golushko, Stepashin, and Barsukov; three general prosecutors — Stepankov, Kazannik, and Ilyushenko; several television chiefs — Bragin, the two Yakovlevs, and Poptsov; presidential chiefs of staff, press secretaries, and aides — Petrov, Filatov, Voshchanov, Kostikov, Stankevich, and Starovoytova; and, finally, Korzhakov. And that is still far from all of them. How many provincial administration heads have been replaced during this period!

They were all bad or unsuitable (that may be the case, but who picked them?) and all guilty of something (although they carried out the president's edicts and directives); only Yeltsin is always good and always right. But that simply cannot be so.

You will remember when Gorbachev, having betrayed all his comrades in arms and finding himself without a team, soon lost the presidency of the USSR. Yeltsin is also going into the second round of the elections virtually without a team. The voter cannot see and does not know what the new one will be like. Lebed on his own does not make a team.

Chubays, trumpeting his victory over Soskovets and the "enforcers," has started talking about some "new Yeltsin." This is yet another myth. There is no new

Yeltsin. There is the old Yeltsin. Oil, tired, worried, and with a panic-stricken fear of defeat. He is carrying out a feverish purge in the Kremlin in the hope that this will please the voters and they will appreciate this and, thankful, will vote for him on 3 July.

But we, the voters, find this sordid intriguing around the throne repulsive to observe. The voters are fed up with the endless hunts for enemies in own country and threats of coups, putsches, and civil war, we are heartily sick of the disrespect which those in power have for each other, their political opponents, and the people themselves. The voters want something really new at last — a new life, a new president, new people around the head of state, and new, normal relations among these people.

How will this affect the elections? Will the action which his team organized for 19-20 June improve Yeltsin's chances or not? In my view they won't — rather they will lessen them. Why?

Apart from those I have already mentioned, there are a whole number of other reasons:

1. The people hate Chubays. And his triumphal return to public politics as a victorious hero has already turned voters against Yeltsin ("It means he will be dancing to Chubays' tune again").

2. The voters' reaction to Lebed's role in the events of recent days has been far from unambiguous. He has obviously fallen into bad company, who are using him as a "bulldozer" in their own internal showdowns. Having hardly joined the Kremlin team our "noble general" is already up to his ears in dirt. In these circumstance it cannot be hoped that the voters who voted for him on 16 June are going to do the same en bloc on 3 July.

3. Since the "guilty parties" have again turned out to be the leaders of the power departments, it is hard for Yeltsin to count on a "correct vote" from the military electorate. No matter what their attitude to their leaders, they realize that they were not fired for bad work, they were simply sacrificed to the president's personal interests. And the way in which this was done and the insulting tone which Lebed, Chubays, and others are currently allowing themselves to use against them demeans not only the ousted generals but also everyone who serves in the power structures, and they do not deserve this. People in uniform are being persuaded for the umpteenth time that politicians drag the military into their intrigues and then turn them into "scapegoats." It cannot be ruled out, therefore, that the military will vote differently in the second round than in the first.

4. Against the backdrop of this entire saga Zyuganov's stock, by contrast, is clearly rising. Despite all the dirt accompanying the election campaign, Zyuganov remains an unsullied politician waging a struggle by exclusively honest, legal, and scrupulous methods. He adopted a noble attitude toward both Lebed and all the other candidates who did not make it into the second round, openly offering them cooperation and not saying disrespectful things about them (which cannot be said about them). In the last stretch of the presidential race, when passions seem to have become heated to the limit, Zyuganov is displaying high political standards, coolness, and restraint, which the voters cannot fail to notice and appreciate.

After the unseemly events of 19-20 June there can no longer be any doubt about a Zyuganov victory.

Russia: SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA Continues Campaign for Zyuganov

MM2506101796

[FBIS Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 June 1996 devotes two full pages to campaign material promoting the cause of Communist Party leader Zyuganov in the upcoming runoff against Yeltsin.

Page 6 carries four items. The first, headed in large bold type "Where Zyuganov Will Get the Money," deals with how he will raise the funds "to immediately alleviate the population's life and finance the country's primary needs" and lists the following as the main sources of revenue: "restoring domestic production," "imposing order in the use of budget funds," "returning 'liquor money' to the state treasury," "stopping one-sided concessions to the International Monetary Fund," "normalizing oil exports," "making thrifty use of property abroad," and "collecting from debtors." It concludes with the boldface slogan: "G.A. Zyuganov means a healthy economy and concern for man!"

The second item featured on the page consists of a head-and-shoulders photo of movie director Stanislav Govorukhin and a caption in which he explains his decision to vote for Zyuganov on the grounds that "all swindlers in the Russian Federation" will vote for Yeltsin.

The page continues with a cartoon headed "It Still Won't Budge!" which plays on Krylov's fable of the Swan [Lebed], the Crayfish, and the Pike, in which the efforts of the three ill-assorted partners are fruitless since each pulls in a different direction. The cartoon depicts a complacent-looking Yeltsin seated in a wheelbarrow on a rocky upward slope. Straining mightily, Lebed is attempting to wheel the barrow uphill while a diminutive Chubays sits on his shoulders and points the way.

The final item on the page is an appeal from State Duma Deputy T.G. Avaliani declaring that all other first-round presidential candidates "criticized the rule of B.N. Yeltsin over the last four years and his program for the next four." Avaliani concludes: "The substitution of Yeltsin for Yavlinskiy, Yeltsin for Lebed, Yeltsin for Fedorov, Yeltsin for Zhirinovskiy is a betrayal of the people who voted for them. It is equivalent to General Vlasov's surrender of his soldiers to Hitler. Be vigilant!"

Page 8 begins with a facsimile of the second-round ballot paper with a large check opposite Zyuganov's name. The paper also publishes an appeal to "Dear Leningraders, Friends, and Comrades!" from 927 defenders of Leningrad and survivors of the blockade who urge people to vote for "that faithful son of Russia" Zyuganov.

Most of the middle of the page is given over to a caricature of a jowly Yeltsin. Around his head is a bandanna labeled "Reform," into which pieces of paper bearing the legends "Poverty," "Unemployment," "Crime," and "Economic Ruin" are tucked. The accompanying text, headed "Limit of Decline Has Been Reached. Ahead Lies Catastrophe," cites various economic and social statistics to illustrate Russia's plight after "four years of 'shock therapy.'"

An appeal to "Russia's Working People" urges: "Not a single vote for Yeltsin!" "Only in February 1996, four months before the elections, did Yeltsin suddenly notice that wages and pensions are two-six months late, no apartments are being built, working people cannot get medical treatment, everybody has forgotten about vacations in sanatoriums and rest homes, and everybody hates the war in Chechnya," the appeal declares, warning that "Yeltsin has made lots of promises in the election campaign, but once again he will not keep his word."

The page ends with the following appeal:

"Patriot of Russia!

"Did you vote for Lebed, S. Fedorov, Zhirinovskiy, or Yavlinskiy?

"That means you voted FOR Russia and AGAINST Yeltsin!

"VOTE FOR ZYUGANOV and you will again be voting for Russia!"

Russia: Yeltsin Urges Khabarovsk Voters To Vote on 3 Jul

LD2406143696 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Boris Yeltsin urged the voters of Khabarovsk territory who voted for the supporters of reforms, democracy, and order in the first round, to turn out without fail for the election on 3 July. Every single vote may be crucial. According to our correspondent, the president's address says the people of the Far East were able to overcome their petty disappointments and grievances and to support democratic changes. We have to consolidate our success in the second round and confirm that our goal is a free and thriving Russia, Yeltsin says in his address. He also says it is important not to lose the spirit of solidarity, hope, and faith in the second round, which will determine the final outcome of the elections.

Russia: Lebed Comments on Combatting Crime

LD2406124696 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0810 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed, the secretary of the Security Council and presidential adviser on national security, has repeatedly pointed out that he joined the presidential team with serious and long-term intentions. Among the most important tasks for both his department and him personally he lists relentless combat against crime. This is how Aleksandr Ivanovich assesses the situation in Russia and how he intends to change it.

[Begin Lebed recording] All civilised countries have crime, but their crime is, as a rule, within the spheres of criminal business and it is the minister of internal affairs who has headaches about it. They combat crime by waging position warfare against it.

Maybe, to some extent one could describe it as unavoidable evil. Our situation is slightly different. Here, the criminal network has entangled all kinds of business, all with no exception. Today our market has a strange signboard hanging there: "Welcome but entrance is categorically denied." The entrance is free for a small group of persons but all the rest, the overwhelming majority, have no access because of the obstacles. These hurdles include racket, burdensome taxes and contradictory laws. It is impossible to start any business today if you do not have an umbrella from bandits. Today the state has in a very strange manner given some of its key functions over to the criminal world. Who is protecting owners in our country today? The same old bandit umbrella. Who is doing the arbitration? A godfather. Who executes sentences, who punishes the culprits? Either a contract extortioner or a contract killer.

Myself, I am very deeply convinced that it is too great a luxury to have both the state and bandit umbrellas existing on one and the same territory. The state does exist with the sole purpose of eliminating these umbrellas. It should do this in such a way that the problem ceases to be a political problem and becomes simply a judicial problem, that of the law and order. This can be done and must be done by the will of the president, for a start. We are in a kind of a vicious circle, a closed circle now. We have loads of operative information, volumes of it, concerning all kinds of these umbrellas. But in fact it seems practically impossible to do anything with this information legally for one simple reason; the eyewitnesses want to live on.

This should be handled resolutely, disrupted by the president's will — when he issues a decree giving the law enforcement bodies the right to arrest on the basis of operative information. Many criminals will be imprisoned for a long term. Some may be released, but the network will be ruptured and it will be impossible to net it further. Then, the crime will leave for the spheres of criminal business and it will be possible to begin a new life.

Unfortunately, we cannot manage this today. We have social problems. Today the country has a lot of jobless people, redundant people, and hapless people. According to various information, there are 2.5-6 million refugees in the country. Nobody waits for them, nobody likes them. Nobody has been dealing with problems of the young. Many young men and women, especially since the beginning of the summer season, have been scratching their heads and thinking what to do next. And they do find something to keep them busy.

Women fall first victims of all kinds of dismissals and redundancies. A huge number of people are facing a very tough alternative; to either die of hunger somewhere in the street or violate laws. Most people violate laws. So, this is our strategic task; to uproot crime socially. Then nine people out of every ten will return to a law-abiding lifestyle very gladly, I am deeply convinced.

The problem here is of a smaller caliber. It is the problem of equipping the law enforcement bodies properly. This problem is being tackled with numerical strength and not skills. In many towns all services have grown in their numerical strength but as far as quality is concerned, there have been no changes. They are still clad in old Soviet uniforms as before, they still have Makarov pistols as their standard issue as before. They still have their mobile militia patrols with their ten litres of rationed petrol as before. With this, they are facing the organized criminals who are armed with automatic weapons and equipped with space satellite communication devices, wonderful bullet-proof vests and loads of gizmos for eavesdropping and spying. The problems is to combat crime. But how can they do it if they don't have any chances at all?

God has created big and small people and Colonel Samuel Colt has created his revolver to make them even, right? Chances must be leveled out, for a start. Not at the expense of quantity but at the expense of quality. This is another problem which is difficult to solve. But it is possible to solve them. Some guidelines must be mapped out; as simple as this. [end recording]

Let me remind you that this is the opinion of Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed, the Security Council secretary, on crime-related problems and ways of combating crime by the presidential team.

Russia: Yeltsin Ridiculed Over Kremlin Changes

MM2406142496 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 1

[Article by Zhanna Kasyanenko: "Two Days That Shook the Kremlin"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Each day brings fresh news, each more incomprehensible than the last.

To be honest, in Yeltsin's place (although God forbid) I would have sent some of my television servants on leave for the duration of the election campaign. Because their zeal is plain to see and they do Yeltsin nothing but harm. Whatever he does in his attempt to be, according to the scheme, "father of the nation," they instantly describe as a "powerful (or sometimes stunning, and so forth) campaign move." As though he were just some sort of smart operator, not the president, according to their logic.

The latest bustle "among the inner circle" has also been described as a powerful campaign move: The series of dismissals and the appointment of Lebed are apparently not for the sake of the cause but for the sake of votes. But the truth, if you can imagine, is even more cynical and repellent. To such an extent that in a decent society people implicated in such things are shunned.

Like anything that is done in haste, the attempts by Yeltsin's team and Yeltsin himself to make the best of a very bad job look amusing and clumsy. In my view, Lebed has made a particular mess. It is a baptism of fire, so to speak. With his attributes as a commander Aleksandr Ivanovich would have been very valuable in any political system of coordinates. This being so, he is being overused and passed on from hand to hand: from Bergman in Tiraspol to Borovoy and Karaulov, and after them all over the place, as far as the Kremlin. But the Kremlin has its own rules, its own game, its own parties and underwater currents that drive now one person, now another onto the reefs. Judging by the fact that the Soskovets-Korzhakov-Barsukov party was known as the "Russian" party there, apparently the anti-Russian party has won — call it what you like, the meaning is clear. It is not for nothing that Arkadiy Yevstafyev admitted on TV that during his conversation with the people detaining him they made a remark to the effect that the president will win the elections anyway, but not thanks to those who have latched onto him, but thanks to true patriots. So that is how! But we thought there were no patriots in the Kremlin. But, judging by the remark of Chubays' right-hand man, they regard neither Yevstafyev himself nor his patron as patriots but as "hangers-on." This remark reveals the whole picture of behind-the-scenes struggle for the right to get the presidential contender a second term. In all probability, the Kremlin "patriots" fell into disfavor because Yeltsin learned of Russian citizens' true intentions regarding his candidacy. He had to save the situation in the second round.

The scenario of palace intrigue, which it is awkward even to describe as a coup, had clearly been in preparation for a long time. But there was no time for rehearsal, and furthermore events unfolded in the most unexpected, unpredictable way. And the actors were not all that well-rehearsed when they went out on stage, getting muddled over their lines and delivering them at the wrong time. For instance, why did the new national security boss accuse Agapova, a weak woman, and Grachev, her retired boss, of staging "SCSE-3" [State Committee for the State of Emergency-3]? This was a line from a different act of the play and was clearly intended for Korzhakov and company.

And what, tell me please, was that aforementioned boss Aleksandr Lebed doing at 0300 hours on Staraya Square, where, probably by pure chance, there happened to be a TV crew? A perfectly ordinary meeting in the middle of the night on a dark street. Frowning in the TV lights, Lebed said that there was something in the air. This was the point at which he should have made the remark about the SCSE. It would have been very appropriate. But by then he already knew that the "putschists" were doomed and powerless. Maybe this is what he had been doing when he visited units near Moscow and cut communications with Korzhakov, citing his own emergency powers? But he had been delayed, and now journalists had "managed to arrive on the scene." In my view, this is a very plausible theory.

Chubays also was wide of the mark with his "prepared statement" at his press conference. At first he declared that the appointment of Lebed is the "final nail in the coffin of Russian communism." This remark fits in perfectly with the well-known formula: "They were aiming at communism, but actually hit Russia." Then he added that the dismissals are the final nail in the coffin of illusions of a coup by the "power" structures. Why the funereal mood if the "enemy is defeated"? With suspicious glibness Chubays explained Zyuganov's position, which he allegedly already knew.

Let me remind you that the press conference began at noon. At that very moment the corridor in the State Duma outside Zyuganov's office was packed with journalists. They were clearly on the lookout for Gennadiy Andreyevich, and every time a door banged lenses were immediately trained on it. They waited a long time, but to no avail. So Chubays' press conference ended, leaving his incomprehensible words about Zyuganov's reaction hanging in the air unbolstered by any information. Had it not worked?

But later "Vesti" continued the theme of coffins, perhaps involuntarily creating a kind of hybrid out of Chubays' remarks: "The dismissal of Soskovets, Barsukov, and Korzhakov is the final nail in the lid of the coffin of Russian communism called the illusion of a military coup." The scriptwriter probably urgently needed to connect the hypothetical coup with Zyuganov. But Zyuganov was not reacting to it at all. So he had to fashion these ridiculous constructs, either portraying Barsukov and Korzhakov as members of the Zyuganov bloc, or who the hell knows what.

Right, so far it is clear: Chubays has bobbed to the surface and the remaining victims of the president's past "powerful moves" — Burbulis, Shakhray — are now waiting their turn somewhere.... Who else among the "reformers" ardently "loved" by the people may pop up?

A great battle has begun behind Yeltsin's back, weakened by his campaign travels, and he announces its results in his characteristic manner: "If I come out to say something, I say something.... We need cadres, fresh people. Look, I have been constantly reproached. Reproached for Korzhakov, reproached for Barsukov. Reproached for Soskovets. As if the president is supposed to do their jobs for them, you know!"

As for the nature of the $500,000 that was being simply carried out of Government House in a box from some piece of equipment, the well-known show business impresario Andrey Razin described this in detail:

[Razin] When the elections were only beginning, a few show business entrepreneurs — Lisovskiy, Krutoy — formulated a program for making as much money as possible out of this. They concluded contracts in advance, and canceled performers' dates. Performers are extremely dependent on them. We once talked with Vlad Listyev about this, but on "Peak Hour" he asked me to say nothing on air about the corruption that flourishes in this business and in television. He thought that practically everything is sewn up and no performer can appear on TV without payment. It is organized as follows: Performers can get a concert venue, on stage, or on screen only via these people, via the ARS firm. The performers give them a "rake-off" of between 10 and 20 percent, according to sympathies. The income is huge. I know several people in the government who have helped Lisovskiy and Krutoy to organize matters so that nobody can appear on stage or on screen without their knowledge. I have now realized that Chubays was behind this, but via his assistant Yevstafyev.

Right, four months ahead of the elections Lisovskiy created a team of 36 "stars" who canceled all their concerts and concluded contracts. They did not even know which president they would be working for. The contracts and fees were agreed and the cities were discussed. Lisovskiy and Krutoy looked to see who they could sell their program to. They tried Zhirinovskiy. It transpired he did not have that kind of money. They invited me. There was a professional discussion about this whole team's participation in the elections. Of course, I would not have been opposed to all our "stars" supporting Zyuganov. I asked what the performers themselves would think about this, but Lisovskiy said they had "watertight" contracts and nobody would drop out. We began to discuss money. The sum proved impossible for our bloc. Some $300,000 per concert. The itinerary included 30 cities. That was $9 million.

Then, as you know, the "Choose or Lose!" plan began operating. The process got under way. My administrators, who had worked with me before, said it was total chaos. Performers were being told one sum and were being paid less, but were having to sign for more.... They were being told that not all the money could be accounted for and registered in the account.

At first they simply said: You are patriots; perform for free. But, you know, is Kirkorov going to sing the whole month for free? Although he says his sympathies are with Zyuganov, a fee is a fee.

In the morning when I learned what had happened I called Lisovskiy, and one of his people said: "Do you want me to take this money THERE?" Do you see what is happening? There are clearly people in the government who extracted this money for ARS, but on certain conditions, and to whom the $500,000 was supposed to be paid according to the pledges. Maybe they weren't there, so the box had to be taken away again.

This is not the first setback. The panic began in Yekaterinburg. The organizers of concerts in support of Yeltsin stole 300 million rubles. Criminal proceedings were instituted. They began to summon members of the team. It was the special services, of course, who worked with them and ran up against utter chaos. The money was shared out and illegal fees were distributed. Maybe the trail led to Government House.

But in Sverdlovsk people have already begun to testify where money was given and to whom. It would have been natural to watch Lisovskiy. Yeltsin's campaign staff cranked up the concert bandwagon because they absolutely did not want this sort of scandal. All this was hushed up. But now there is quiet panic in the "Choose or Lose!" team among the administrators who did all this.

They have to straighten out the scandal as quickly as possible before the second round — and it will be difficult to do this, obviously, since even Chernomyrdin is confused. At one moment he says that the money was official, at the next he says not. Or that there was no money at all. In short, there is total confusion and panic. This is understandable. Just imagine if Lisovskiy and Yevstafyev had begun to testify where, to whom, why, and how all the money had been handed out. It would have been a bombshell. So Filatov's team immediately activated Lebed. He was set on this trail. However, he said that it is a murky business and the prosecutor's office should investigate. For my part, I am prepared to work very closely with the prosecutor's office in order to shed light on many obscure points.

Yeltsin pulled off a stunt in order to extinguish the scandal in his team as swiftly as possible. After all, they had been caught in Yekaterinburg, in his birthplace, and something incomprehensible had also happened here in Moscow. Major facts would have surfaced. Furthermore, the administrative group was prepared to testify. So they instantly got Yevstafyev and Lisovskiy out and also made political capital out of this.

Of course, I can imagine the situation Chubays found himself in when his assistant was implicated in these schemes. So they are trying to accuse their own people, in order to get out of this situation as swiftly as possible and divert attention.

Then they will investigate. [Razin ends]

So, reader, do you understand the real reasons behind this? All the highfalutin talk of new cadres, nails, and coffins? Just think who we are dealing with! Anyhow, "choose or lose!" You have already lost, gentlemen, regardless of the election results. Admittedly, the "gay" thief Alkhen, who was notorious for stealing butter from old women in the almshouse, was nobler: At least he blushed.

Russia: Poll Forecasts Compared With Actual Election Results

MM2406155196 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (DOM I OTCHESTVO Supplement) in Russian 22 Jun 96 p II

[Article by Aleksandr Baltygin: "Whose Forecast Proved Closer to the Mark? Between the First and Second Rounds of the Presidential Elections We Compare Our Suggestions"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Only 10 years ago the basis of our country's politics was mythological language. Just recall "the tireless battle for peace," "acceleration," "carrying into effect the decisions," and so forth. Today this kind of automatic thinking no longer exists, and the myths have changed somewhat. Practicing extremely productively in this sphere are the masters of all sorts of opinion polls, whose results, though viewed by the majority as myths, are nevertheless widely commented on and attract the interested attention of the highest circles.

At a fateful moment such as, for example, a national presidential elections there is a particular demand for sociologists' prognoses — I use the specialist jargon. Oracles of every hue, school, and tendency, independent and hired alike, are hurrying to complete orders from parties, movements, and leaders, taking part vicariously in the gripping, fast-moving contest.

Today the results of the first-round voting have been added up. Let us recall that, according to the Central Electoral Commission figures, the presidential candidates received the following percentages of the vote: Boris Yeltsin 35.28; Gennadiy Zyuganov 32.04, Aleksandr Lebed 14.52; Grigoriy Yavlinskiy 7.34; Vladimir Zhirinovskiy 5.7; Svyatoslav Fedorov 0.92; Mikhail Gorbachev 0.51; Martin Shakkum 0.37; Yuriy Vlasov 0.2; Vladimir Bryntsalov 0.16.

Even before 16 June all the sociological institutes and centers offered their own assessments of the election situation, issuing their forecasts of the possible election results. Today it is interesting to take a look to see whether the men of science, having carried out their public opinion polls, guessed correctly on their main question: Which of the candidates would their fellow citizens vote for?

Here is the picture that sociologists formed from the results of polls carried out in the first 10 days of June, with their predictions (as a percentage of the total number of respondents):

The All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions [VTsIOM]:

Yeltsin 32-36 percent; Zyuganov 26-30 percent; Yavlinskiy, Lebed, Zhirinovskiy, and the other candidates would not cross the 10- to 12-percent threshold.

The "Public Opinion" Foundation:

Yeltsin 38; Zyuganov 20; Lebed 7; Yavlinskiy 6; Zhirinovskiy 5 percent.

The Moscow Carnegie Center:

Zyuganov 30.5; Yeltsin 25; Zhirinovskiy 10.5; Lebed 8; Yavlinskiy 8; Fedorov 3.5; Gorbachev 2 percent.

The Center for Strategic Analysis and Forecasting:

Yeltsin 35-40; Zyuganov 25-30; the other candidates approximately 6 percent each [as published].

The Vox Populi Sociological Service:

Yeltsin and Zyuganov 25-30 each; Zhirinovskiy 9-10; Lebed 8; Yavlinskiy 7 percent.

The Russian Public Opinion and Market Research Agency [ROMIR]:

Yeltsin 34-35; Zyuganov 23; Lebed 8; Yavlinskiy 7; Zhirinovskiy 5; Fedorov 2 percent.

As we can see from the forecasts cited above, the sociologists mostly "guessed" the first two places in the presidential race, but failed in their assessments of Lebed, who did twice as well as they predicted, on the whole accurately recorded the hopelessness of the former USSR president [Gorbachev] and the famous ophthalmologist [Fedorov], and disregarded altogether the "dark horses" — Shakkum, Vlasov, and Bryntsalov.

VTsIOM accurately predicted the positions of the gold and silver medalists, but mistakenly gave all the other candidates equal chances. "Public Opinion" overestimated (18 percent) the gap between B.N. [Yeltsin] and G.A. [Zyuganov], and, like the rest, underestimated Lebed's chances by a factor of two.

The Carnegie Center proved to be close in its forecast of the top places. D. Olshanskiy's center put the gap between B.N. and G.A. as high as 10 percent, but for some reason allotted equal chances to all the rest. V. Grishin's Vox Populi acted similarly in its forecasts with regard to B.N. and G.A., and gave third place to the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] leader. And finally, ROMIR was mistaken in its prediction of the gap between the current president and his chief rival (10 percent) and, not to be left behind the other sociological services, underestimated the chances of the retired general, now head of the Security Council, by a factor of two.

Thus in the battle of the oracles no one achieved absolute accuracy, although the first two lines were mainly predicted correctly. And although sociology is classed as a science, the pollsters sometimes treat raw figures rather freely. However, here is the opinion of a professional, Zinaida Gelonkovaya, deputy director of the Russian Academy of Science's Institute of Sociology. "Sometimes there is a great deal of spontaneity at the last moment, so that none of this is 100-percent, or even 90-percent certain. Electoral behavior in Russia is very random, very unpredictable."

Right now the sociologists are again carrying out polls and predictions and trying to determine who the leader is, this time in the second round of the presidential election. We will see which of them is the most accurate.

Russia: Electoral Commission Allocates Airtime to Yeltsin, Zyuganov

LD2406124896 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian
1100 GMT 24 Jun 96

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Central Electoral Commission has completed the drawing of lots to allocate free airtime to the candidates as part of their election campaign on three all-Russian TV channels—Russian Public Television Network, the Russian Television Network, and St. Petersburg Television Network—and on two radio channels, Programma Radio Odin Network, and Mayak Radio Network.

In accordance with the lots drawn, the candidates for the top post in the state, or their proxies, can be seen on 26, 27, and 28 June and on 1 July, twice a day—between 0300 and 0600 GMT and between 1400 to 1900 GMT. Within those time limits, the candidates will themselves choose a convenient time for themselves not taken up by other TV programs, 10 minutes a day in all.

On Russian Public Television, Boris Yeltsin will be the first to speak, on the morning of 26 June, while Gennadiy Zyuganov will wind things up on the evening of 1 July. [Video shows Central Electoral Commission meeting]

CIS: ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 25 Jun

LD2506055496 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0533 GMT 25 Jun 96

["Press Review" — ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 25 (ITAR-TASS) — Follows a review of Tuesday's Moscow-based Russian newspapers dated June 25.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA on Gennadiy Zyuganov's national trust government idea.

"Zyuganov is trying to seize the initiative from Boris Yeltsin. He suggests that Yuriy Luzhkov and a number of ministers from the Viktor Chernomyrdin government should join a national trust government," the newspaper points out. Nezavisimaya Gazeta believes that Zyuganov has made a bid to get ahead and Yeltsin's supporters will now have to react to this move in some way.

IZVESTIYA on the idea of recreating an "indissoluble bloc of Communists and nonparty people".

"Attempts to recreate an 'indissoluble bloc of Communists and nonparty people' at the new historical stage will hardly be successful. It is highly significant that the Communists, withouit asking for permission, try to manage someone else's political capital. With a truly Leninist approach, they adopt anything that is if only in slight demand ahead of the election runoff, be it ideas or politicians, and seek to secure additional votes for Zyuganov," the newspaper notes.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on Zyuganov's coalition idea.

"A coalition, Zyuganov style, is a centaur similar to the combination of partiotism and Communism. Apparently, the Zyuganov team estimates its chances in the election runoff quite pessimistically if it adopts ideas which are utterly alien to it," the newspaper writes.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes Zyuganov-signed documents — "A National Accord Pact", "On the Formation of a Council of National Accord" and "On the Formation of a National Trust Coalition Government".

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on decline in goods turnover.

"In anticipation of the election runoff, we somehow failed to notice how the supply of commodities dwindled: due to political instability, goods turnover sharply declines," the newspaper observes.

The bulk of businessmen at home have taken up a wait-and-see attitude awaiting the results of the presidential race. The world- known foreign companies have also yielded to this influence which is ruinous to business and reduced to the minimum their deliveries to Russia," the newspaper writes.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA describes the plans of the governments of Russia and the United States to establish "a global monitoring system, which is capable of listening through the entire planet, to ensure nonconduct of nuclear explosions".

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA runs the text of a Law "On National Culture Autonomy", passed by the State Duma and approved by the Federation Council.

IZVESTIYA on the disappearance of Alla Dudayeva.

"There still are many questions about the entire story concerning the disappearance of Alla Dudayeva. One is particularly alerted by the strange haste of special services to come forward with an inconclusive denial and a desire to play down the interest of the press to this case," the newspaper's correspondent Valery Yakov points out.

CIS: CIS States' Border Troops Agreement

MM2506105196 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 10

["Agreement on Collaboration Between the CIS States' Border Troops When Crisis Situations Arise on External Borders" from "Documents" section]

[FBIS Translated Text] The CIS member states which have signed this Agreement, hereinafter referred to as the Sides,

acknowledging the need for the border troops' collaboration when crisis situations arise on external borders,

guided by the CIS Charter, the Treaty on Collective Security, and the Concept for the Guarding of the CIS States' Borders with States which do not belong to the Commonwealth and the treaty on cooperation in guarding the borders of the CIS states with states which do not belong to the Commonwealth and by their own national legislation and the desire to promote the mutual safeguarding of their external borders' security,

confirming their loyalty to the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act on the inviolability of borders,

expressing the resolve to continue to ensure the inviolability of external borders for the sake of a peaceful life and the security of their peoples and states and their territorial integrity,

have agreed on the following:

Article 1

In this Agreement the following terms mean:

"external borders" — the sectors of the CIS states' state borders with states which do not belong to the Commonwealth;'

"border troops" — the border troops of the CIS states;

"Crisis situation" — a combination of military-political and social conflicts which destabilize the situation on sectors of the external border and require collective measures to stabilize it;

"border grouping" — a formation of forces and facilities of the CIS states' border troops earmarked by the Sides to fulfill tasks to step up the guard of sectors of external borders in the region of a crisis situation.

Article 2

If a crisis situation arises or threatens to arise on any sector of the external borders from a state which does not belong to the Commonwealth, the Sides, at the initiative of one or several CIS states and at the request of the state on whose external border sector the crisis situation has arisen or threatened to arise, immediately hold consultations and determine measures to help to ensure a stable situation on these sectors.

Article 3

Each of the Sides, considering its own legislation and potential, forms and trains military formations to perform the tasks of stabilizing the situation on sectors of the external borders when crisis situations arise.

The need for forces and facilities and the terms of the border grouping's presence will be determined by the Sides in accordance with the tasks in each specific situation.

The leadership of the border grouping will be assigned to a commander appointed by the council of CIS heads of state following the recommendation of the Council of Commanders of the Border Troops and by agreement with the relevant organs of the state on the sector of whose external border the crisis situation has arisen.

The Sides determine the rights and duties of the commander they have appointed which he will enjoy (and be guided by) for the period of operation of the border grouping in the crisis situation region.

A joint staff consisting of representatives of the sides' border troops is created under the commander.

Article 4

The sides undertake to take part in financing the border grouping.

The procedure for and scales of financing and material and technical backup for the actions of the border grouping in the region of the crisis situation are determined by the Council of CIS heads of Government.

Article 5

The sides taking part in the creation of the border grouping determine the duration of its actions on the external border sector where the crisis situation arose and the procedure for bringing it in and withdrawing it and extending its stay.

Article 6

Servicemen in the border grouping taking part in the crisis situation region observe the constitution and legislation of the CIS state on whose territory they are operating.

Questions of jurisdiction connected with the stay of the servicemen of the border grouping on the territory of the CIS state where the crisis situation has arisen are regulated as follows:

1. For cases of crimes committed by servicemen of the border grouping on the territory of the state where they are temporarily resident that state's legislation is applied.

2. Point 1 of this article does not apply:

a) if servicemen of the border grouping commit crimes directed against the citizens and country where they are permanently resident;

b) if servicemen of the border grouping on the territory of the state where they are temporarily resident commit military crimes.

For cases covered by subpoints "a" and "b" of this point the courts and other competent organs operate on the basis of the laws of their country of permanent residence.

Article 7

The side on the sector of whose external border a crisis situation has arisen undertakes to provide the grouping of border troops assigned to render aid in eliminating this situation with barracks and official premises, airfields, base points, railroad sidings, transport, mail, and telephone and telegraph radio communications, and finances the expenditure connected with this.

The Sides guarantee legal and social protection for the servicemen belonging to the border grouping.

Article 8

The Side on the sector of whose external border a crisis situation has been created and other Sides involved will provide the necessary information for the border grouping in the crisis situation region.

The leader of the border grouping promptly informs the Sides of the situation, status, and operations in the crisis situation region.

The sides additionally agree the procedure for monitoring the border grouping's actions and the situation on the external border sector where the crisis situation has arisen.

Article 9

By mutual agreement of the Sides additions and alterations may be made to this Agreement.

Differences regarding the interpretation and application of this Agreement will be resolved through talks and mutual consultations.

Article 10

This Agreement enters into force from the day the Sides hand over to the depositary the third notice of the fulfillment of internal state procedures necessary for its entry into force.

Article 11

The Agreement is concluded for a period of five years and will be extended automatically on each occasion for the next five-year period. Any of the sides can withdraw from this Agreement by giving the depositary written notification at least six months before withdrawing from the Agreement.

This Agreement is open to accession by other CIS states.

Done in the city of Moscow 17 May 1996 in one authentic copy in Russian. The authentic copy is kept at the CIS Executive Secretariat, which will send each state which has signed this Agreement its own certified copy.

For the Republic of Armenia L. Ter-Petrosyan

For the Republic of Belarus with comment A. Lukashenka

For the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev

For the Kyrgyz Republic A. Akayev

For the Russian Federation B. Yeltsin

For the Republic of Tajikistan E. Rakhmonov.

Stipulation by Republic of Belarus

with regard to the agreement on collaboration between the CIS states' border troops when crisis situations arise on external borders

"The Republic of Belarus does not send border troops outside its territory to crisis situation regions."

Baltics: Baltic Presidents Meet With Bob Dole

WS2506104396 Tallinn BNS in English
1023 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Jun 25 (BNS) — U.S. Republican presidential candidate Bob Dole confirmed his position that NATO enlargement should include the Baltic states as he met with the Baltic presidents on Monday.

The process will be carried out in several stages, Dole said, noting that efforts should be made not to affect Russia and not to weaken forces there which speak out for democracy and economic reforms by the NATO expansion.

Dole, on a campaign trip in New York, met with presidents of three Baltic countries — Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania, Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia and Lennart Meri of Estonia.

Dole issued a written statement after meeting with the presidents saying among the subjects discussed were recent changes in the Conventional Forces in Europe treaty (CFE). "I assured the presidents that Baltic security is on the agenda of Washington as we discuss the enlargement of NATO and build our relationship with Russia," Dole said.

"The enlargement of NATO to include Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic should be the beginning of the expansion process — not the end," Dole said.

"The Baltic nations rightly aspire to the stablity and security NATO provides its members," Dole added.

At the meeting, the Baltic presidents welcomed a resolution on NATO enlargement which was brought before the U.S. Senate on the initiative of Republican leader Dole.

The resolution places the Baltic countries in the second group after Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary, and provides for an aid to the NATO applicants.

Dole also called on President Bill Clinton during the G-7 meeting of leading industrial nations this week in Lyon, France, "to issue a strong statement of support for the sovereignty and independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania."

President Algirdas Brazauskas stressed at the talks with Dole that Lithuania sees NATO membership as the most real way to achieve security guarantees, the Lithuanian permanent mission to the United Nations said in a statement.

The Lithuanian leader was quoted as saying that this was not a challenge to Russia and other countries which should also be included in the formation of a new European security system.

The Baltic presidents voiced confidence in the victory of Russia's democratic forces in the country's presidential elections and said they share the U.S. position in respect to Russia.

CIS: Heads of State 17 May Statement on Nagorno-Karabakh

MM2406144196 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 9

["Decision on the CIS Heads of State Council Statement on the Settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict" signed by Council Chairman B. Yeltsin, accompanied by the said statement]

[FBIS Translated Text] The CIS Heads of State Council has decided:

to adopt the CIS Heads of State Council statement on the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

Done in Moscow 17 May 1996 in one authentic copy in Russian. The authentic copy is kept at the CIS Executive Secretariat, which will send each Commonwealth state a certified copy.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, chairman of the CIS Heads of State Council

CIS Heads of State Council Statement on the Settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh Conflict

The CIS Heads of State Council approves the vigorous efforts made by Russian diplomacy on the instructions of Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin with a view to settling the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict.

The Council expresses satisfaction in connection with the confirmation by the parties' top leaders of their determination to maintain the ceasefire achieved two years ago on 12 May 1994, through the mediation of Russia and the assistance of the CIS and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Minsk Conference up to and including the conclusion of a political agreement on ending the armed conflict. The Council considers it extremely important to resolve all disputes exclusively by peaceful means.

The release and repatriation by the parties to the conflict during the Russian foreign minister's trip to the Transcaucasus of all 110 prisoners of war and hostages listed by the International Red Cross Committee were a major humanitarian and political act.

The CIS Heads of State Council calls on the parties to step up their efforts on the basis of goodwill in finding compromise solutions at the talks on a political agreement.

In the course of a peaceful settlement the sides need to promote the revival of an atmosphere of peace, mutual understanding, and agreement, to take steps to prevent and put a stop to acts of sabotage, subversion, and terrorism in the region, and to take measures to strengthen confidence and carry out unilateral gestures of goodwill.

CIS: Presidents Sign Abkhazia Peacekeeping Forces Decision

MM2406131296 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 10

["Decision on the Stay of the Collective Peacekeeping Forces in the Zone of Conflict in Abkhazia, Georgia" from "Documents" section]

[FBIS Translated Text] The CIS Council of Heads of State,

proceeding from the desire to continue efforts to settle the conflict in Abkhazia, Georgia,

confirming its previous decisions aimed at attaining this goal,

has decided:

1. To supplement, with the agreement of the Sides, the Mandate of the collective peacekeeping forces in Abkhazia, Georgia, with the following clause:

— carrying out work to identify minefields and clear mines on the territory of Abkhazia, Georgia, with the assistance of the United Nations and in collaboration with the local authorities.

2. To instruct the CIS states' council of foreign ministers and the CIS states' council of defense ministers to make efforts with representatives of the Sides to amplify the Mandate of the collective peacekeeping forces in accordance with the 19 January 1996 decision of the CIS Council of Heads of State "on extending the mandate of the collective peacekeeping forces in the zone of conflict in Abkhazia, Georgia."

3. To extend the collective peacekeeping forces' stay in the conflict zone in Abkhazia, Georgia through 19 July 1996.

4. That the sides in the conflict with the assistance of the collective peacekeeping forces in the zone of conflict in Abkhazia, Georgia, be instructed to take additional steps to safeguard the security of the personnel of the

UN observation mission in Georgia while they fulfill their functions.

5. To urge the Sides in the conflict to activate the negotiations process with a view to ensuring a political settlement with the Russian Federation's mediation.

Done in the city of Moscow, 17 May 1996 in a single authentic copy in Russian. The authentic copy is stored in the CIS executive secretariat which will send each state which has signed this decision a certified copy.

[signed] for the Azerbaijan Republic G. Aliyev
for the Republic of Armenia L. Ter-Petrosyan
for Georgia E. Shevardnadze
for the Republic of Kazakhstan N. Nazarbayev
for the Kyrgyz Republic A. Akayev
for the Russian Federation B. Yeltsin
for the Republic of Tajikistan Z. Rakhmonov
for the Republic of Uzbekistan I. Karimov

Russia: Kozyrev: Russia Must Avoid Collision With NATO

AU2206205396 Paris AFP in English
2017 GMT 22 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Crans Montana, Switzerland, June 22 (AFP) — Former Russian foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev on Saturday urged his erstwhile boss, President Boris Yeltsin, to pluck up the political courage to forge a compromise with NATO over the alliance's planned eastward expansion.

Kozyrev said Russia was headed on an inevitable collision course not only with NATO, but also with the eastern European countries which it is seeking to take under its umbrella, and that this would leave Moscow isolated.

"I think there will be a collision by the end of the year, if not earlier, between the Russian position and the Western position, or the position of the East European countries," said Kozyrev, who was sacked as Russian foreign minister six months ago.

"I don't think this is the best Russian interest to stand alone against the majority of European States," the former dovish foreign minister said. "It looks more and more like standing against water stream. You just find yourself wet."

NATO has pledged to welcome eastern European countries into an enlarged alliance, but Moscow has steadfastly opposed the move which it believes would compromise its security.

Yeltsin, who faces a tough challenge from Communist leader Gennady Zyuganov in the second round of presidential elections on July 3, said earlier Saturday that Russians were "alarmed" at the prospect of the western alliance moving closer to Russia's western borders.

"The extension of the NATO block, its approach to the borders of the community of Russia and Belarus, alarms our peoples (who) want no more confrontation, no more dividing lines through the continent," Yeltsin said during a visit to the western Belarus town of Brest.

But even as Yeltsin and Zyuganov scramble for the nationalist high ground, Kozyrev urged a more flexible line of rapprochement with NATO to prevent a serious clash.

He said the Russian leadership would have to show "considerable courage to say the simple truth to the Russian people that NATO was never ever a true enemy of Russia.

"This has been blown out by the Communists like other stupid lies," Kozyrev said.

Russia: Yeltsin Sends Condolences on Death of Papandreou

LD2406162696 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1500 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 24 (Itar-Tass) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin sent a telegram to Greek President Konstandinos Stefanopoulos on Monday expressing his condolences over the death of ex-prime minister Andreas Papandreou.

Yeltsin described Papandreou as a "political leader who has done very much for the benefit and prosperity of his country, promoted peace, security and cooperation in Europe and made a considerable contribution to the development of Russian-Greek relations and the strengthening of trust and mutual sympathy between the peoples of Russia and Greece."

Russia: Yeltsin Sees Russia-Belarus Community as 'Effective Tool'

MM2506083796 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Jun 96 p 1

[Report by Valeriy Kovalev under the general heading "Russian Federation President Honors the Memory of the Defenders of Brest and Visits Kaliningrad Oblast"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Russian delegation's stay in Brest was not confined to participating in the events to mark Memorial and Mourning Day. Boris Yeltsin and [Belarusian President] Alyaksandr Lukashenka held a "one on one" working meeting. A session of the Supreme Council of the Community [of Russia and Belarus] then took place, at which problems of Russian-Belarusian integration were discussed. The two countries' leaders briefed journalists on its results at a press conference.

The council examined six questions. In particular, a decision was adopted on the creation of a common interstate customs committee. Russia's representative Anatoliy Kruglov was appointed its chairman. Proposals prepared by experts on harmonizing labor legislation and providing equal social guarantees in the labor sphere for citizens of the two states were also discussed and approved. The problem of free sanatorium and spa treatment for war veterans in Russian and Belarusian health resorts was resolved positively. The veterans were also granted the right to free travel once a year through the territory of Russia and Belarus. An accord was reached on continuing joint work to eliminate the consequences of the Chernobyl disaster. The Russian side will allocate 8 billion rubles to Belarus for these purposes in the current year. In addition, a special decision was adopted on the allocation of funds for the reconstruction of the "Brest Hero-Fortress" memorial complex.

Answering journalists' questions on the prospects of the Community, the Russian president expressed firm confidence that it will not be just another "paper formation," but will become an effective tool for deepening integration ties which work effectively for the benefit of the fraternal peoples. That will be the aim of the Supreme Council's next steps. In the near future measures are to be defined to synchronize the course of economic reforms in our countries and ensure that they proceed at identical speed. [passage omitted]

Russia: Russo-Belarus Parliamentary Assembly Meets in Smolensk

LD2506072496 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0712 GMT 25 Jun 96

[By Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SMOLENSK, June 25 (Itar-Tass) — The first session of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Russo-Belarus Community opened here today. Its agenda includes mainly organisational matters, including the election of the Chairman and Vice-Chairmen of the Parliamentary Assembly, and formation of Standing Commissions.

The Parliamentary Assembly is a "supra-national parliament" of the Russo-Belarus Community. The treaty to form this Community was signed by the two countries early last April.

The session is attended by a delegation from the Russian State Duma led by its Speaker Gennadiy Seleznev, and a delegation of the Belarus Supreme Soviet led by its Chairman Semyon Sharetskiy.

Russia: Belarus-Russia Supreme Council Makes Social Decisions

MM2506091696 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 25 Jun 96 p 1

[Report by Pavel Shinkarenko: "Single Standards of Social Protection Adopted in Brest at Session of Belarus and Russia Community Supreme Council"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow and Minsk have switched from words to deeds. The treaty on the formation of the Belarus and Russia Community concluded in April has passed through the ratification stage and has now begun to be filled with specific content. A week ago a session of its Executive Committee was held in Moscow and on Saturday a session of the Supreme Council was held in Brest. As stipulated under the treaty, the heads of state and government and the leaders of the two countries' parliaments took part in the work of the Supreme Council.

The main topic of discussion was the solution of the very complex problems in the economic sphere and the provision of the same social standards for the citizens of Russia and Belarus. "We have one aim — to ensure that our countries and our people do not feel divided, to ensure that there are no barriers between us," Boris Yeltsin said after the completion of the Supreme Council's work. He said that it was in this direction that the first steps of the Community have been taken. This is borne out by the program of priority measures for the implementation of the provisions of the treaty, which contains over 80 points, and within the framework of this program the citizens of Russia and Belarus have already been assured equal rights in receiving education and medical services. The Supreme Council session took a new step on this path: Agreement was reached on the immediate introduction of equal rights for Russians and Belarusians in finding employment and in wages remuneration and on the unimpeded exchange of housing.

But the main work still has to be done. Only success in the economy will create a material basis for resolving social tasks. Priority here has been given to the creation of unified and effective transport and energy systems, the unification of credit and monetary and budget systems, and the development of a customs union. In particular at the Brest session of the Supreme Council Anatoliy Kruglov, chairman of the Russian State Customs Committee, was elected leader of the joint customs service. Next is the creation of Russian-Belarusian financial-industrial groups and the coordination of a single approach toward the structural restructuring of the economy.

Russia: Russia, PRC Close Ranks in Face of Foreign 'Pressure'

MM2406152296 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 11

[Report by Vladimir Kuznechevskiy: "CIS Countries and China Move Toward Nonmilitary Alliance in Shanghai"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Four agreements on military confidence-building measures between China on the one hand, and Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan on the other were signed in Shanghai 26 April. The stability of the borders between these countries and the PRC over a length of 7,000 km was confirmed. To all intents and purposes in Shanghai the presidents of the states began the creation of an unprecedented collective mechanism to maintain peace and stability in Asia. Hitherto only Europe had had well-oiled mechanisms for maintaining regional security. Now such a mechanism is starting to emerge in Asia. But the most valuable aspect is that states of the most varied size and world role are taking part in this process on an equal footing. And that includes states which have enjoyed sovereignty for less than five years.

Of course, the core of the new world order in Asia is formed by relations between Russia and China. And that was by no means always the case. [passage omitted]

Who can support China in its legitimate aspirations to reunite Taiwan with the mainland? Who has an objective interest in supporting China's economic expansion in Southeast Asia? Apart from Russia, nobody! Indeed, Japan is not going to want to cultivate a rival....

Is a Russian-Chinese Alliance Possible?

As a purely military alliance, hardly. Neither China nor Russia needs that. The practice of previous decades has shown that overly close rapprochement generally gives rise to overly strong contradictions. But objective circumstances nonetheless are literally prompting Moscow and Beijing to engage in close mutually advantageous cooperation — and not only economic, but military as well.

After all, for virtually the entire 20th century Russia and China were almost identical targets for pressure, threats, or direct intervention from the same foreign forces. The same thing is happening now too. And this similar situation is resulting in Moscow and Beijing having more and more common positions on international issues, which is beginning to be seen not only in statements but in their practical actions.

Li Luye, the well-known Chinese diplomat and former PRC representative at the United Nations, commenting on the differences between the Russian Federation and the United States on the question of expanding NATO's borders and sphere of influence, voiced the opinion that NATO's eastward expansion threatens Russia's strategic interests in Central and East Europe. He is echoed by China's XINHUA news agency — if Russia makes any concessions to Washington, it is likely that it will completely lose its ability to protect its strategic interests in Central and East Europe. Consequently, it is entirely natural that Moscow is now taking steps against the NATO bloc's eastward expansion. It is also important, XINHUA notes, that NATO's eastward expansion, approaching Russia's state borders, essentially constitutes a threat to its national security. The cruise missiles which the United States used against the Serbs will also threaten Russia.

It is understandable that under the conditions of such pressure from virtually the same force Beijing and Moscow are showing an interest in mutual rapprochement. Although they are by no means in an equal position. Figuratively speaking, the military alliance approaching its western borders is breathing down Russia's neck, but China is still merely engaged in verbal battles with the United States.

Clearly, for these reasons the Russian-Chinese joint declaration signed in Beijing 25 April by the Russian Federation and PRC leaders lays down very many common positions on all the topical international problems of the day.

Russia: Border Agreements Signed With PRC, Mongolia

LD2406154496 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1403 GMT 24 Jun 96

[By Grigoriy Arslanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BEIJING, June 24 (Itar-Tass) — Officials from Russia, China and Mongolia today signed a number of intergovernmental documents relating to the eastern and western points where the state borders of the three countries meet.

Ambassador-at-large Genrikh Kireyev who led the Russian delegation to the talks on borders said in an exclusive interview to Itar-Tass that the signing of these documents marked an important stage in the juridical process of defining the intersections of the borders, a process that began four years ago.

The documents are also important because they enshrine in a legal form the Russian-Mongolian state border which was demarcated long ago but the easternmost and westernmost points of that border had yet to be defined finally prior to the signing, Kireyev said.

As concerns the Russian-Chinese border, the identification of its eastern juncture was important for the final juridical record of the point of reference to be used in drafting documents relating to the eastern part of the border up to the juncture of the state borders of the Russian Federation, the Chinese People's republic and the Democratic People's republic of Korea (North Korea), the Ambassador said. Negotiations on these are still going on, he added.

As regards the western juncture of the borders of Russia, China and Mongolia, the Russian diplomat stressed its great importance for the beginning of the demarcation work on the western stretch of the Russo-Chinese border.

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The signing of the trilateral documents is a significant part of the great demarcation efforts which are now being made primarily on the eastern part of the border between the Russian Federation and the Chinese People's republic, Kireyev stressed. He said that juridical documents have already been completed for some 1,700 kilometers of the 4,300-kilometre-long eastern stretch of the Sino- Russian border.

After the demarcation work is done and the documents are submitted to the governments for approval, the juridical definition of the borders will be complete, the Russian Ambassador said.

The documents were signed by Ambassador of the Russian Federation in China Igor Rogachev, deputy Foreign Minister of China Zhang Deguang [as received] and Mongolian Ambassador Tsakhilgan [as received].

Russia: Government Agrees To Guarantee Satellite System

MM2406155696 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 7

[Russian Federation Government Decree No. 592, signed by Premier Chernomyrdin and dated 17 May 1996: "On the Signing of a Guarantee Agreement Between the Russian Federation and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation Government decrees that:

1. The proposal from the Russian Federation Finance Ministry, coordinated with the Russian Space Agency and the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry, on the signing of a Guarantee Agreement Between the Russian Federation and European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] (hereinafter, the agreement) on a contract between the Applied Mechanics Science and Production Association and the Eutelsat European satellite communications organization for the development, manufacture, and launch of new-generation Seasat communications satellites is hereby adopted.

The draft agreement provisionally reached with the EBRD is hereby approved.

The Russian Federation Finance Ministry shall be permitted to submit amendments and additions to the draft agreement that are not of a fundamental nature by agreement with interested federal executive organs.

2. The Russian Federation ambassador to France or the Russian Federation ambassador to Britain (by agreement) shall be instructed, once agreement is reached, to sign the agreement on behalf of the Russian Federation.

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3. Once the agreement is signed the Russian Federation Finance Ministry in conjunction with the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice and other interested federal executive organs shall ensure implementation of the measures needed to bring the agreement into force, and shall submit corresponding proposals to the Russian Federation Government.

[Signed] V. Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Government

Russia: Russian Center 'Defended' Satellite Project

MM2406160196 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 3

[Report by Andrey Garavskiy: "Khrunichev Plant Mounts Excellent Defense of Astra Project"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The M.V. Khrunichev State Space Science and Production Center has defended the outline project for the Astra-1G program.

We would recall that under the program it is planned to use a Proton launcher 15 June 1997 to place in orbit an Astra-1G satellite, developed by the well-known American firm of Hughes and belonging to the Societe Europeene des Satellites (SES). SES is deploying its own Astra satellite system, which the company has used for TV and radio broadcasting to Europe since 1989.

The outline project submitted by the Russian specialists has allowed representatives of American companies (Hughes, ILS, and SES) [as published] to assess the progress of work under the joint program. The four days' work resulted in the sides' signing a protocol defending the outline plan.

Russia: Foreign Airlines' Security Role at Sheremetyevo Questioned

MM2406151996 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 2

[Report by Tatyana Kolysko: "'Free' Zone"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A Dutch-Israeli security firm has been operating at Sheremetyevo international airport for three years now without a license or a contract with the airport

The airport management has said repeatedly at news conferences that all attempts to remove the unwanted guests from the Sheremetyevo airport site have failed.

This fact has also been recorded by a commission which recently conducted an investigation there: "...ICTS [expansion unknown], a firm which deals with aviation security for certain foreign airlines, is operating at the Sheremetyevo-2 airport complex without the airport's consent."

So have conclusions been drawn and measures adopted? Nothing of the kind. ICTS is still operating at the airport.

There are Russians working for the firm. It is not difficult to join.

The first thing that surprises everyone is that no one asks for any documents. Not even a passport. Some fill out a questionnaire asking for information such as color of hair, eyes, and so forth. Then there is a short chat with Michael Callaghan, the firm's manager, an oral briefing, and then you are the happy recipient of an ID badge bearing your photograph and the inscription ICTS. But this is not a pass. It is simply a badge showing that you belong to the firm. The duties of an agent (as the firm's employees are known) including talking with passengers, checking documents and luggage, accompanying it to and from the plane, and inspecting the airliner. When a plane lands your job is to look for forgotten luggage; before takeoff you look for explosives. In other words, ICTS agents have airside access and access to aircraft. And this is at an international airport where the state border runs.

I telephoned Gennadiy Pankratov, chief of Sheremetyevo's aviation security service. It turns out that he knows that this firm — a Dutch-Israeli closed-type joint-stock company — is operating inside the airport. It services several Western airlines — Lufthansa, Delta, and British Airways. "Attempts have been made to stop its activity," Gennadiy Iosifovich said, "but representatives of the U.S. and German embassies appeared immediately and stated that without this firm they have no confidence that the proper level of security is being ensured."

Valeriy Saleyev, chief of the Federal Aviation Service's aviation security department, said:

"The ICTS firm has a contract with Delta, Lufthansa, and British Airways and provides them with additional services of a high standard which our agency cannot provide. This includes baggage inspection using an interscope [interskop] immediately before loading onto the plane, and a special survey of passengers which makes it possible to identify potentially dangerous passengers.

"ICTS is indeed working without a contract with the airport and has no license from us for this kind of activity. They have now applied for an official permit. We are resolving the question. In addition, they have sent us documents. In principle we have no legal grounds for refusing."

Vladimir Pozdnyakov, deputy director of the Federal Aviation Service, said:

"The ICTS firm was accredited with the chamber of commerce and industry and had nothing to do with civil aviation apart from permission to open an office in Moscow, which did not give it the right to operate at the airport. But they have been operating under the flags of Delta, British Airways, and Lufthansa and thus circumvented our laws. And as staff of those airlines they have airside access and access to aircraft. The border guards had no reason to deny them access."

It is worth pointing out here that the Russian aviation security service is not open to just anybody and that candidates have to be checked at all levels: There is a check of the applicant's police and medical records and he has to fill in a questionnaire tracing his family tree back almost to the Battle of Kulikovo. New recruits undergo appropriate training. This is a place where, as a rule, older, more experienced staff work.

When talking with the officials responsible for aviation security I invariably asked: Can Russian airlines set up a service like ICTS in foreign airports? They laughed and replied: Of course not....

Political Issues

Russia: Yeltsin, Chernomyrdin Discuss Personnel Issues

LD2506093096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0859 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 25 (Interfax) — A meeting of Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin is underway in Kremlin to discuss personnel issues and the sociopolitical situation in Russia on the eve of the second round of presidential elections, presidential press secretary Sergey Medvedev told Interfax.

Earlier today the president met Russian Interior Minister Anatoliy Kulikov, who reported on the crime situation before the second round of presidential elections, the settlement of the Chechen conflict and the assistance of Russian interior bodies in this settlement.

The president has also had a meeting with Secretary of the Russian Security Council Aleksandr Lebed to continue Monday's discussion of reforms in the Security Council's staff. Lebed reported on planned reshuffling in the council's staff and the plans of the Security Council for the near future, said Medvedev.

Russia: Yeltsin, Lebed Discuss Security Council Restructuring

LD2406174896 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1631 GMT 24 Jun 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 24 Jun (Itar-Tass) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin held a working meeting today with Aleksandr Lebed, secretary of the Security Council and President Yeltsin's national security aide. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by Presidential Press Secretary Sergey Medvedev that the meeting discussed basic directions in reforming the structure of the Secrurity Council, together with plans for its work.

Boris Yeltsin said at the meeting that he has included in his electoral program points from Aleksandr Lebed's electoral program when he stood in the presidential election. As Sergey Medvedev said, "the amount included is about seven pages." Primarily, as the press secretary said, this is about state security, the fight against crime, and settling the conflict in the Chechen Republic.

Russia: Yeltsin Dismisses Two Deputy Security Council Secretaries

LD2506120696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1134 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 25 (Interfax) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin Tuesday freed Vladimir Rubanov and Aleksandr Troshin from their duties as deputy secretaries of the Security Council in connection with cuts in the Security Council's staff.

He also appointed Sergey Kharlamov and Vladimir Denisov as deputy secretaries of the Security Council.

Yeltsin signed a decree Tuesday which cuts down the Security Council's staff to 183, presidential press secretary Sergey Medvedev told Interfax.

From now on, the secretary of the Security Council shall have four deputies, including one first deputy, and a head of the secretariat.

Yeltsin instructed Secretary of the Security Council Aleksandr Lebed to draft rules regulating the work of the Security Council, as well as the staff list and the organizational structure of the agency, and submit it to him for approval.

Yeltsin "finds its important to increase the role and broaden the functions of the Security Council, and strengthen its personnel," Medvedev said.

Russia: Yeltsin Not Planning To Offer Chubays Government Post

LD2506103496 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1016 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 25 (Interfax) — President Boris Yeltsin has repeated that he does not plan to bring former First Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the State Property Committee Anatoly Chubays back to the Cabinet.

"I did not plan to return Chubays to the government and have no such plans now. I am forming a new team relying on the opinion of voters. New respected and professional persons such as Aleksandr Lebed are coming. There will be more personnel changes, new experts will come. A serious and strong team is emerging and will stay long," the president told the weekly ARGUMENTY I FAKTY newspaper.

Chubays currently heads a group of analysts on Yeltsin's election team.

Russia: Yeltsin Edicts on Personnel Ousters, Acting Security Chiefs

MM2406131096

[FBIS Report] Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 June 1996 front-pages a series of five Russian presidential edicts on personnel changes, all signed by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin and dated the Kremlin, Moscow, 20 June 1996. The text of the five edicts is as follows:

Edict No. 961 "On O.N. Soskovets": "On the submission of the chairman of the Russian Federation Government, Oleg Nikolayevich Soskovets is released from his post as first deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government in connection with his transfer to other work."

Edict No. 962 "On M.I. Barsukov": "Mikhail Ivanovich Barsukov is released from his post as director of the Russian Federation Federal Security Service in connection with the request [raport] submitted."

Edict No. 963 "On A.V. Korzhakov": "Aleksandr Vasilyevich Korzhakov is released from his post as chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service in connection with the request submitted."

Edict No. 964 "On the Acting Chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service": "Yuriy Vasilyevich Krapivin, chief of the Russian Federation Federal Protection Service, is charged with the duties of the chief of the Russian Federation Presidential Security Service."

Edict No. 965 "On the Acting Director of the Russian Federation Federal Security Service": "Nikolay Dmitriyevich Kovalev, deputy director of the Russian Federation Federal Security Service, is appointed acting director of the Russian Federation Federal Security Service."

Russia: Chernomyrdin: Professionals Should Make Up Government

LD2506103596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1022 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 25 (Interfax) — Following the presidential elections, a new government will have to be formed from among professionals, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin told journalists in Moscow on Tuesday in comment on Communist presidential candidate Gennadiy Zyuganov's calls for the formation of a coalition government.

"My stand is clear," Chernomyrdin said. "A government should be made up of professionals, who know how to work, who are capable of working and who wish to work." This is a major principle to be observed when forming a Cabinet, he said. "Who these professionals will represent and how is the president's business," Chernomyrdin said.

Zyuganov earlier called for the formation of a coalition government with representatives from the Popular-Patriotic Bloc he leads, other political parties represented in the State Duma and current government members at a news conference given in Moscow on Monday. The Communists conducted negotiations on this issue with 12 ministers and 27 deputy ministers, Zyuganov said.

Russia: Zyuganov Proposes He, Yeltsin Address Parliament

MM2506095496 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Jun 96 p 3

[Letter from CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] leader G. Zyuganov: "With Concern for the Country's Future" — from the "Voter" section]

[FBIS Translated Text] To Ye.S. Stroyev, chairman of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly Federation Council

To G.N. Seleznev, chairman of the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma

Esteemed Yegor Semenovich!

Esteemed Gennadiy Nikolayevich!

I consider it necessary to put through you to all Russian Federation Federal Assembly deputies a question of paramount significance for the fate of the fatherland.

The first round of the presidential election clearly highlighted the fundamental characteristic of the current political moment: Society's attention is focused not only on the personality of the contenders for the post of head of state but also and primarily on the definition of the policy with which Russia will enter the next millennium. It is absolutely obvious that after the election the country's legislature and executive alike will have to make certain adjustments to their activity so as to embody the will of the Russian voters in concrete normative acts and decisions.

I believe that the people's elected representatives have the right to know in good time what priority steps in the sphere of state building, the solution of the urgent tasks in the economy and social policy, and in the strengthening of law and order and the fight against crime the two candidates intend to take if elected to the post of president of the Russian Federation. Furthermore, they have the right to learn about this not via the mass media but first hand. Their appearance at a joint session of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly would clearly demonstrate to Russia and the whole world a unity and accord on the main issue — the desire to develop further the processes of democratic transformations in our country in strict accord with the Constitution.

I hope that B.N. Yeltsin will receive this proposal with understanding and support it, because it is dictated exclusively by concern for the country's future, and that he will set an acceptable date and place for the meeting with Russia's parliamentarians. For my part I am prepared to discuss with him and with the chairmen of the two chambers the procedure for holding such a meeting and the subject matter for discussion.

Respectfully,
[Signed] G. Zyuganov
[Dated] 22 June 1996

Russia: Lebed Interviewed on Future Power Position

AU2406160696 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 24 Jun 96 pp 129-131

[Interview with General Aleksandr Lebed, secretary of the Russian Security Council and President Yeltsin's security adviser, by unidentified DER SPIEGEL correspondent in Moscow; date not given: "To Establish Order — Immediately"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [DER SPIEGEL] Aleksandr Ivanovich, every sixth voter wanted you as president. Was third place in the first round of the Kremlin marathon a pleasant surprise, or had you hoped for more support?

[Lebed] I expected 18-19 percent, and I openly said so. The result is a little bit lower. It shows: My time has not yet come. Nevertheless, it was a victory. Exactly one year ago I was still a simple army commander, and now I am number three in a very exclusive ranking list.

[DER SPIEGEL] The election results gave you the role of kingmaker? Why did you decide so quickly in favor of Boris Yeltsin?

[Lebed] Because in our country two ideas are competing with each other, both having about the same number of adherents: an old, outmoded one, which claimed several dozen millions of victims in our country and brought down immeasurable distress on our people, and a new idea according to which the whole world lives...

[DER SPIEGEL] ...and whose prophet in Russia is called Yeltsin?

[Lebed] Right. It is true that this idea has not been particularly well implemented in our country. To be more exact, even rather badly. But this is not because of the idea. Its translation into practice has to be improved. Almost 11 million people believe me capable of it.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you now want to change the reform course or the president?

[Lebed] The practical side of the reforms, in what everyone affects, has to be improved. I do not think much of whispering something into the president's ear.

[DER SPIEGEL] What role did Yeltsin's statement that he regards you as his successor, although only in 2000, play in your decision?

[Lebed] None. That leaves me absolutely cold. You know that I am not a hothead. Those ardent types who passionately tear their shirts open over their breasts all the time — they never win.

[DER SPIEGEL] At any rate, you did not even negotiate with the man who ranks second, and who is not exactly ardent either. Is the Communist Gennadiy Zyuganov not a partner for talks for you?

[Lebed] We have just had a talk. The leaders of the biggest Duma group and the secretary of the Security Council will always have something to discuss. This is part of my job. It deals with security, which everyone needs. I must now be able to talk to nice colleagues but also to nasty ones, independently of human sympathies. After all, all of us live on one earth and under one sky.

[DER SPIEGEL] Does it satisfy your ambitions that you have not become the master of the Kremlin but a Kremlin official — secretary of the Security Council, and at the same time Yeltsin's security adviser?

[Lebed] Of course not. It is an intermediate stage. I now have the possibility to fulfill my election promises: order in the country, security for the citizens. It is fine that one can immediately begin with it. I cannot stand babblers who turn their oppositional attitude into a profession. I want to do something and achieve something that is as tangible as possible.

[DER SPIEGEL] On what full powers have you insisted?

[Lebed] I want additional full powers from the president for the two functions that I am now fulfilling in a personal union. As soon as I have these powers, the public will hear it. Before that, there is no point in talking about it.

[DER SPIEGEL] Ambitious people who were easily exchanged — sometimes very quickly — also had these functions before you.

[Lebed] So what?

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you not afraid of the cadre merry-go-round?

[Lebed] As early as when I was in school, I learned to sit firmly and for a long time where I sat.

[DER SPIEGEL] What will you tackle first?

[Lebed] First, the whole structure will be put in order. The Security Council must be a functioning working organ. I will therefore soon stop the nonsense of giving interviews all the time. An effective working instrument for the general security of our country, this is the most important thing. Everything else is secondary.

[DER SPIEGEL] Yeltsin has not yet won the election. Will you make a recommendation to your voters for the runoff ballot between Yeltsin and Zyuganov, and will your adherents really follow you?

[Lebed] Independent people voted for me. I will not make a deal with them. There will be no appeals, either. However, I have to explain my present attitude, my decision in favor of the new idea. Eighty percent of my voters will understand me and vote accordingly.

[DER SPIEGEL] Boris Yeltsin is primarily interested in the votes that you bring along.

[Lebed] No. Every citizen is completely alone before the ballot box.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you disappointing your adherents by joining forces with the Moscow oligarchy now?

[Lebed] I have not decided in favor of persons, but of an idea. Are you perhaps proposing that I should decide in favor of communism? The people have made their decision — whether one likes that or not. Two men are confronting each other — Yeltsin and Zyuganov. He who does not make up his mind in this situation is politically dead.

[DER SPIEGEL] The communists and the dissatisfaction with the results of the economic reforms expressed by them will not disappear in a second term for Yeltsin, but possibly become even stronger. Do you advocate that representatives of the Communist Party be taken into a coalition government?

[Lebed] Of course. He who wants rest, peace, and stability does not manage without a coalition government. It is also not very wise to give someone the opportunity to always voice only criticism, without ever having to prove that he can do it better. If the Communists are really more concerned than others about the working people's prosperity, they should also provide the ministers for labor and social affairs.

[DER SPIEGEL] Yeltsin stated that he wants to adopt "everything that is good" in your program. What does this mean concretely?

[Lebed] In the president's program the army reform and the fight against organized crime had been a little bit neglected.

[DER SPIEGEL] And you now have a free hand in both fields?

[Lebed] Yes.

[DER SPIEGEL] Order — your whole election campaign can be summarized by this word. What kind of order do you want, together with Yeltsin?

[Lebed] Order means for me that people can become richer together with their country — and not at its expense. Order, this is a state that guarantees protection and care for all of its citizens, and not only to the few very rich. Order a la Lebed, this is guaranteed freedom for honest actions. Crime has achieved control of our whole country. Access to the market is blocked for most people by the extortion of protection money, unbearable taxes, fraud, and bribery. This vicious circle has to be broken by purposeful decisions by the president.

[DER SPIEGEL] This sounds as if you first of all wanted to have mines cleared in the field of the economy.

[Lebed] This is exactly what I am planning, so that clever people can work hard there and not be disturbed, and so professionals can assert themselves.

[DER SPIEGEL] Simultaneously with your appointment, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev was dismissed. Did you ask for the head of your comrade?

[Lebed] I am not resentful; it happened so. The defense minister was overdue. He had let the army vegetate under inhumane conditions. I was unable to watch that any longer, because I love the army.

[DER SPIEGEL] You voiced suspicion of Grachev's involvement in an attempted putsch in public. What was the intention of the violent opposition that you spotted?

[Lebed] No scaremongering. The word putsch does not come from me. However, the army leadership tried to put pressure on the president.

[DER SPIEGEL] In what way?

[Lebed] Men from his closest surroundings wanted to induce the ex-minister to mobilize the troops to make protest demonstrations against his dismissal — simply a minor uprising. Appeals to the commander in chief were also planned.

[DER SPIEGEL] What countermeasures did you take?

[Lebed] Preventive ones. The general on duty in the communications center of the General Staff was instructed not to pass on any orders from the ex-minister to the troops. Then I talked to the commanders of the Moscow defense district and the airborne troops. All forces were warned in a circular: We respect the Constitution. Therefore everything remained quiet. I am simply very much in favor of prevention.

[DER SPIEGEL] What did Grachev want to achieve with all that?

[Lebed] Well, he must have expected some kind of pressure on the president, a confrontation. And I reacted in the same way that one pats the head of a child and says be good. For example, I prohibited state funds from being used for telegrams of condolence to Grachev: The fines for it would have been 10 times as high as the postal rates. Such hints catch on surprisingly well with our people.

[DER SPIEGEL] Before the elections Grachev warned that people loyal to him have the decisive posts in the army.

[Lebed] All that is megalomania. One need not take that seriously; the Napoleons are also cured sometimes.

[DER SPIEGEL] You want a strong Russia with a strong, self-assured army. What can you do now to improve at least the social situation of the soldiers and officers?

[Lebed] First of all, a very simple thing: to ensure that the soldier gets his pay regularly and on time. The state has to meet its liabilities. I am planning many things, but one has to start with this particularly painful problem: An officer cannot earn something in addition; when he begins to protect vendors' stalls, he stops being an officer.

[DER SPIEGEL] With your new office you become immediately responsible for solving the conflict in the Caucasus.

[Lebed] It is madness to permit, in one's own country, the existence of an enclave whose population hates its so-called own country with all its heart, despises its laws, and does not pay taxes.

[DER SPIEGEL] What new course do you want to take there?

[Lebed] One can start with making Chechnya independent of the Russian state budget. In Chechnya, 7 trillion rubles have already disappeared, and another 16 trillion are to be "invested" in a very similar way. With this money we could create possibilities of existence for many refugees.

[DER SPIEGEL] Are you prepared to grant the Chechnyans full sovereignty?

[Lebed] They are to express their will in a referendum. If the people want independence, they should get it; 150 years of Russian-Chechnyan relations — that was at best latent hostility and, as for the rest, open war.

[DER SPIEGEL] Who is to blame for the conflict?

[Lebed] The main culprits are probably in Moscow. Many things have to be clarified there. Who permitted our troops to be ignominiously driven away, weapons and ammunition to remain there and fall into Dudayev's hands, and gigantic amounts of oil to disappear?

[DER SPIEGEL] Aleksandr Ivanovich, what was your attitude toward Aleksandr Korzhakov, the dismissed chief bodyguard? He was also responsible for security.

[Lebed] For the president's personal security — and I am responsible for that of the whole country.

[DER SPIEGEL] Apparently, however, Korzhakov saw that differently.

[Lebed] He was simply a too active man.

[DER SPIEGEL] On your political path you formed and broke alliances with many people, also with Communists...

[Lebed] I beg your pardon? When is that supposed to have taken place?

[DER SPIEGEL] For a short time, you were in the same Duma group as former Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov.

[Lebed] What does this have to do with Communists?

[DER SPIEGEL] Is Ryzhkov no longer a Communist?

[Lebed] His parliamentary group is called "the Power of the People" and people who are no Communists belong to it. There I found some colleagues, whose ideas I quite liked. Three weeks later I knew...

[DER SPIEGEL] ...that they were not so likable after all?

[Lebed] Right. My sympathy decreased. I do not get my experience of life from textbooks. One frequently has to learn the hard way.

[DER SPIEGEL] One knows of Yeltsin that he treats allies very pragmatically. How long will your alliance last?

[Lebed] This is a question for clairvoyants and astrologers, not for me.

[DER SPIEGEL] Have the agreements between you and the president been set down in writing for the next few years?

[Lebed] No. I submitted my proposals for the improvement of the security system to the president. He generally agreed to them. Now details must follow.

[DER SPIEGEL] Do you see yourself as Russia's president in 2000?

[Lebed] Possibly even earlier.

[DER SPIEGEL] Aleksandr Ivanovich, thank you for this interview.

Russia: Gorbachev Fears 'Napoleon-Like' Lebed

BR2506100796 Turin LA STAMPA in Italian
25 Jun 96 pp 1, 2

[Article by former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev: "Russia, a Divided Country"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What happened and is happening in Moscow is the result of the first round of the election. Boris Yeltsin spectacularly failed to achieve the aim which he set himself and which he set out before the whole world: to win outright in the first round. That in itself shows to just what extent both the outgoing president and a crucial number of people on his team were out of touch with reality. This failure is all the more smarting if we consider that the authorities did everything in their power to achieve a victory, breaking all the rules of play and spending huge amounts of public money to back a single candidate. Rumor has it that bundles of ballot papers in Yeltsin's favor were placed in the ballot boxes in order to grant him an outright victory over Zyuganov in the first round.

The situation after 16 June turned rather tricky for the Kremlin. Even a win in the runoff was in doubt under those circumstances. On the other hand, none of those in the president's entourage ever considered for a single moment that Yeltsin should surrender power: neither those who were recently dismissed nor those who preen themselves on their victory today. In particular, the group of generals and their allies — the very men who did all Yeltsin's dirty work for him, including the war in Chechnya — became a perilous burden; they feared for their master, but more than anything they feared for their own skin. They were prepared to go to any lengths, even to organizing extremely serious provocations, in an attempt to avoid defeat. Such provocations included the none-too-covert idea of annulling the election.

Boris Yeltsin had to jettison them because he could not afford to lose the democratic label with which he sells himself to the whole world, and because otherwise he would have been in danger of losing even the votes of those democrats who voted for him. But because he himself bears the responsibility for his aides' actions, none of which was ever carried out without his consent, he was unable to act with transparency toward the nation. Too many unavowable and shameful things, too many crimes would have emerged from a transparent cleanup operation. It thus became necessary to deceive the country once again. The president himself described his dismissal of the "three musketeers" as a simple measure taken to strengthen his team. I am prepared to bet that not a hair on those men's heads will be harmed.

In this he was helped by the men from the opposing team who — undoubtedly with his full knowledge — stage-managed "operation Lebed." Lebed's 15-percent "blitzkrieg," his appointment to the post of Security Council secretary, Grachev's "conspiracy" nipped in the bud: all these things made it possible to eliminate the entire group of so-called hawks. Indeed they themselves made things easier by falling straight into the trap laid for them.

This, then, is the preamble to the second round, which has yet to be won. And it will not be easy, even though there can be no doubt that the winning faction will repeat on an even vaster scale all the unfair practices to which they stooped in the first stage of the election campaign, including more or less successful attempts to falsify the result. Be that as it may, the considerations I made at the beginning of the election campaign remain valid whatever the outcome of the second round. Yeltsin cannot be the president of the whole of Russia because he no longer enjoys the support of the majority of Russians. He can stay in power, now resting on the prop provided by Aleksandr Lebed, but he will have to brace himself for a major change of stance, otherwise the tension will become intolerable and the risk of a social clash extremely high. Some 45 million people voted for Yeltsin in 1991, some 30 million voted for him in 1993, and today only 23 to 25 million back him.

But neither did Zyuganov attain his objective. His chances of broadening his voter base are limited to Zhirinovskiy's votes, some of Lebed's, and a few of Yavlinskiy's. This is confirmation that taking part in the runoff will be two representatives of two minority parties, both aggressive and both incapable of compromise, not with each other — which would be deadly — but with the country as a whole.

Why have things come to this pass? Why has it not proven possible to set up a coalition of centrists, democrats, and reformers? It is true that the sum of Lebed's, Yavlinskiy's, Fedorov's, and wasted votes accounts for only a modest 25 percent, but things would have gone differently if there had been a single candidate to give the electorate hope. Whatever the circumstances, that electorate exists and it is not represented by either of the two candidates. By the same token, neither are the millions of voters who failed to cast their vote and who will abstain or vote against both candidates in the second round.

What remains to be seen is the nature of the "Lebed phenomenon." In part, as I have already said, it was built up artificially with the funds which were fed into his coffers and with the TV air time granted to him in the final weeks leading up to the election. His campaign was funded and organized by Yeltsin's election team. The general was given the role of "destroyer of the third force." He was also intended to draw off a part of Zyuganov's votes. Lebed agreed to play ball.

But that is only half the truth. The apprentice witch doctors simply blew up an existing phenomenon. His watchwords: discipline, honesty, law and order, the struggle against corruption and organized crime, Army reform, and the defense of national dignity are all things which strike a chord with the man in the street. Some 11 million people voted for him. It is a protest vote, but then the Communist vote is largely a protest vote too. Now it may just be that a part of this vote will go to Yeltsin, but only a part.

The overall picture is one of a divided country which will emerge from the election without any solution to the crisis. In such situations the stage is often occupied by Napoleon-like figures, set to resolve all the problems with a stroke of the sword. Could Aleksandr Lebed be such a figure? It is too early to tell. The only sure thing at this juncture is that no Bonaparte-style solution would be good for Russia. No straying from the path of democracy, whatever the excuse, would be in the country's interest. Whoever wins must realize that it is impossible, at this juncture, to govern against his adversaries. That would bring further disasters. What is needed is a broad coalition based on widely shared national objectives. The president's powers must be modified, the government's and parliament's role must be strengthened, economic policy must be geared to the interests of the vast masses rather than to those of the bankers and of elite criminal oligarchies. It is difficult but not impossible. Even certain sectors in new Russian finance and business circles are aware of this.

The two candidates must commit themselves to this before the vote. And they should add two clear and unequivocal statements: The second round will be held honestly and whatever happens, and the result will be acknowledged by both candidates whatever it is. Will they be capable of making such a move? I doubt so. In which case, if they do not, the voters must deny their vote to both candidates.

Russia: Lebed Seen as 'Poseur' Threatening Human Rights

MM2406162696 Moscow EKSPRESS-KHRONIKA in Russian 21 Jun 96 p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Podrabinek: "Simply a General" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] Everyone loves the theater. Even those who never go. So it is possible to admire the more or less interesting political game in the higher reaches of power, the presidential candidates' acting skill, and the parliamentary buffoonery of the Liberal Democrats and the pharmacy owners [reference to Vladimir Bryntsalov's pharmaceutical empire]. In short, you don't get bored in Russia. Particularly as a large part of the action takes place before the amazed public's very eyes, thanks to democracy and glasnost.

I am sure that Russian television viewers enjoyed watching the expression on Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's face when he learned from the journalists accosting him that the new Security Council secretary, Aleksandr Ivanovich Lebed, on his first day of work had thwarted an attempted military coup. The circumstances of this artificial coup have been described many times, so we will not repeat them. I think Lebed made a mountain out of a molehill. Friends, drinking cronies, and Grachev's press secretary, on learning of the chief's dismissal, got together to discuss their plight and imaginary opportunities. Someone no doubt came up with the fanciful idea: "We should mobilize the Army!" No doubt someone snitched to Lebed after the discussion about what was said. It does not take much to prevent this kind of "plot." So it was prevented. The only problem is what to do next: If it was a serious plot the plotters must be tried, but it appears there is nothing to indict them for; if the plot was merely idle talk, Lebed comes across as a big-mouth and a poseur.

But the retired general comes across as a poseur anyway. He is fond of saying that he is "bluff," that he is "abrupt" [zagovorennyy], and that he is "a born winner." Certainly he is very fond of himself. A character trait that can be excused, but that is a disadvantage for a politician. Because a politician needs to be liked by the people, or at least by other politicians. It puts people off when you are in love with yourself. Some 15 percent of Russian voters, showing poor taste and election gullibility, were captivated by the former hero of the dirty war in Afghanistan. This is hardly enough to merit nationwide love and the presidency. Most Russians, it appears, are aware that Lebed is good when it comes to commanding an airborne assault battalion, but bad when it comes to commanding a country. His wish to establish order in the country could be very costly for Russian citizens. On the one hand, the general, as we know from the Dniester Region, is incorruptible, straightforward, and direct and does not like crooks. In this sense he could be a boon as internal affairs minister. On the other hand, the simple approach he has proposed adopting in the fight against crime is actually worse than crime today. His idea is to arrest suspects entirely on the basis of information received. This shows him to be someone who not only fails to understand the values of human rights but does not understand rights at all. Generals like military decisions: Get ready, take aim, fire! Plain and simple. As in a war. And if the heroes of Soviet international assistance burned Afghan villages to the ground together with the old people and children in them, who can guarantee that the distinguished general will not use this experience on home soil?

A complex scene is unfolding on the Russian political stage. It is interesting viewing at the moment. It was even nice to discover that Lebed had pecked and devoured the Kremlin hawks and Korzhakov, the president's security chief, and Barsukov, state security chief, were bound for apparent political oblivion. The enchanted viewer is prepared to applaud the victor with the characteristic voice and look forward to the next act. Certainly we can expect many more interesting things before the second round of the election.

It will be interesting to see what awaits us after the second round. Will they bang on your door, for example, in the middle of the night and order you to collect your things, because a malicious neighbor has reported to the authorities that you said something abusive about the Congress of Russian Communities a year ago?

Russia: Lobov's 'Impressionable' Past Career Assessed

MM2406124596 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 1

[Commentary by Mikhail Berger under the "Appointments" rubric: "Lobov — First for the Third Time"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the appointment of Oleg Lobov as first vice premier (for the third time) 18 June, this government post could have turned into a mass profession. The removal of Oleg Soskovets one day later reduced the number of first deputy premiers to a decent number.

The dismissal of the "first" first vice premier was an unexpected gift to Lobov. Initially, right after his appointment, his jurisdiction in the government was formulated pretty vaguely: federal relations, reestablishment work in Chechnya.... But once the post of curator of sectoral ministries, which had been occupied by Soskovets, was freed, the new first vice premier occupied it.

Incidentally, it is hard to work out which of the first deputies is more first than the others. The only way of telling is by trusting the simple and true hierarchical sign: The person who chairs cabinet sittings in the premier's absence is the first first deputy.

The career of Lobov, who is one of few people left in the Kremlin who come from Sverdlovsk, started off in Sverdlovsk itself, where he found himself right after graduating from the Rostov Engineering-Construction Institute. For 12 years he moved smoothly up the "construction" ladder and reached the post of deputy director of a major planning institute. His party-soviet career began in 1972: He was deputy head and then head of the Sverdlovsk Obkom [Oblast Party Committee] construction department, this was followed by administrative work again, then he was back in the party obkom, but this time in the post of secretary. For about two years, in 1985-1987, he was chairman of the oblispolkom [oblast soviet executive committee], and then the long chain of his appointments as deputy chairman of the Russian government began.

The first such appointment occurred at the end of the 1980's, then Lobov went back to party work, until he again became first vice premier of the Russian Federation government in April 1991. He worked in this post until November of that year. Lobov became first vice premier for a second time in 1993 — in April again. Again he left the post in the fall of that year, though earlier this time — in September. And now we have his third appointment to the same post of government first vice premier. There is something mystical in this....

Lobov became particularly famous when he was vice premier for the second time. He was entrusted with the Ministry of the Economy, which he immediately decided to turn into a second Council of Ministers with the rights of the first one. The draft presidential edicts he prepared for this purpose left no illusion as to how Lobov saw his department. He wanted to build a new Gosplan [State Planning Committee] with extraordinary powers, whose decisions would be binding on all organs of federal power.

Thanks to these plans, which found their way into the press, Lobov became a press "favorite" in a matter of days. He was virtually dragged through the newspapers, where he was accused (not without cause) of revisionism regarding the idea of the market and economic freedoms. Lobov's most radical critics were citing his speech at the Economy Ministry collegium, where he proudly reported that under him Sverdlovsk Oblast had been "a leading producer of eggs," and claiming that the Russian economy could expect nothing good from such a minister.

Under incredible pressure from public opinion, the president was forced to transfer Lobov to the Security Council.

Today the three-times first vice premier is being received far more calmly in the government than three years ago. Insiders are at least sure that his lobbyist aspirations will be far more humble than those of his predecessor: The general view is that Lobov is a considerable improvement in terms of personal modesty. At the same time, in his previous jobs Lobov sometimes showed himself to be an excessively impressionable person, prepared to support the most ridiculous ideas. Although the Chechnya experience may possibly have taught him to look more critically at the information he receives.

Russia: Events of 19-20 Jun Seen as 'Coup Attempt'

MK2106140596 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 21 Jun 96 pp 1, 2

[Report by Vitaliy Tretyakov under the "Standoff" rubric: "The Trap Might Work Another Time. The Reasons for, Essence of, and Consequences of the 19-20 June Goings-On in Moscow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What occurred in Moscow on the night of 19 and 20 June is, of course, a coup attempt. It was thwarted fairly quickly and, on the face of it, without too much effort. But in fact this was not so. I know this if only because I had the opportunity to receive some extra information over and above of what was said on the television screen. The country was indeed on the verge of major, catastrophic upheavals, in the midst of which the simple imposition of a dictatorship by someone would not have been the worst option.

Unfortunately, up to this day our politicians prefer behind-the-scenes maneuvering to public moves — even when they actually act in accordance with the interests of the country, social peace, and democracy (which is far from always the case). For this reason I am certain that this mode of conduct, which has long become extremely ineffective, will be put into action yet again in the coverage of the latest goings-on. Which is a pity; they should have already realized that in Russia the time is long past for lone palace intrigues.

So, what actually happened?

The party of power or the new nomenklatura, which has ruled Russia effectively since autumn 1991, while announcing its commitment to the ideals of democracy both inside the country and on the international scene, could not — and often did not want to — run the state by democratic methods. Having done much of what was bad alongside much of what was good and having gone through a brief intraspecies civil war in early October 1993, it has encountered two insurmountable obstacles: the reluctance of people — citizens and voters — to unquestioningly accept everything that comes from the top (such as the advice not to elect Communists to the parliament) and its own lack of cohesion as well as the inability — and the sheer impossibility — of its acting in a coordinated fashion as a single team, subordinating personal interests to corporate ones — let alone state or national interests — as long as the redivision of national wealth and the direct conversion of power into property continues.

The model of a super-presidential republic appeared to the new nomenklatura as the most fitting option for protecting its interests. The only thing it did not take into account is that even this model envisions elections, resignations, personnel changes and, ultimately, a replacement of the president himself with the even more inevitable redistribution of authority and posts afterward.

When it turned out that the time of elections had come, and there is simply no chance of clinging on to former positions for all, the idea emerged to skip first parliamentary and then presidential elections. Naturally, this proposal encountered resistance from society in general (including, by the way, in the outside world) and, most important (in the light of the 19 June developments), from President Boris Yeltsin himself, whom, the new nomenklatura thought, it had entrusted with defending its interests from encroachments by the lower classes and rival groups.

Boris Yeltsin realized that his consent to an illegitimate extension of his term of office, had he given one, would have turned him into a hostage to one group in his entourage or another. The ineffectiveness of reform deprived him of public support, hence only the legitimacy of his rule could guarantee him both power per se and personal safety. So he insisted on holding the State Duma elections, for he wanted to see the balance of forces on the eve of a decisive showdown, the presidential vote. The balance of forces turned out not in favor of the authorities and Yeltsin.

This naturally prompted many representatives of the ruling elite to demand that the presidential election be canceled. Of course, what they needed was not Yeltsin per se, but the status quo that he was called upon to ensure as long as he remained president. The issue is not only that they did not believe in Yeltsin's victory in the presidential election, but also that even his win meant a drastic personnel change. And it gave the president a free hand in making such changes.

What they needed was not simply President Yeltsin, but a president — let it even be Yeltsin — who would be most amenable to their control. But since they could not disobey their patron, they grudgingly went along with his view on elections, becoming increasingly aware of what fate many of them might be in for under any outcome of the vote.

These are all the reasons for the goings-on, which, of course, boil down to a botched attempt to force Yeltsin to eschew the second round of the election — this diverting a threat from themselves — along with ditching democracy for the people, society, and Russia.

The arrest or detention of two fairly minor figures in a team working for the president's victory on the evening of 19 June appears to have been only a pretext for pushing Yeltsin into a corner, persuading him to cancel the second round or demanding that he do so. If the first round lead to the ouster of such a person as Pavel Grachev and if Yeltsin's 3-percent lead over Zyuganov and the mere 15 percent won by Lebed — his ultimate victory still being up in the air — enabled Yeltsin abruptly to change the balance of forces around him, then it was plainly evident what kind of ammunition a legitimate extension of his term of office would give the incumbent president. In a system where everyone has evidence implicating everyone and where a considerable part of this evidence is authentic, there are always bound to be losers. But the golden rule stipulates this: He whose nerves snap first is the loser. In such showdowns the one who begins ends up losing, particularly so when it is no longer possible to keep anything fully secret. And in Russia this is no longer possible — it simply does not work.

It is hard to say exactly how this blackmail — on that night or earlier — was proceeding. But on that night it seems to have been particularly intensive.

When it transpired that, on the afternoon of 19 June, Yeltsin would not go to Lyon, one could sense, even in the absence of complete information, that the final round of a major backroom game had begun. This is what actually happened: The nerves of Korzhakov and Barsukov snapped — or , realizing that they could only avoid defeat by winning, they simply had no other way out.

But this was no longer in line with the interests of Yeltsin himself and the rival power groups, which placed emphasis on stability, albeit somewhat artificial, not on war — even if it was very natural (if a war can be natural at all).

What I considered to be one of the main possible surprises that could have fundamental influence on the outcome of the elections — something that could occur in Chechnya or in Moscow — did not happen before the first round. Now it did happen....In Moscow, between the first and the second rounds. It happened even after Yeltsin won the first round. Naturally, it would undoubtedly have happened had he lost it.

Possibly, subtle counter-moves could also have been present here. Yeltsin was expecting this. Lebed, who is just as sensitive a politician as far as his intuition is concerned, and whose triumph was prepared by one of Yeltsin's teams (of course, with the president's consent), dealt a preemptive blow as soon as he actually found himself in the official proximity to the president. Pavel Grachev's dismissal, which elicited no negative reaction in society, enabled him to refer to State of Emergency Committee No. 3 where there was none. This was a warning to those who would later share Grachev's fate: Don't do it. Or, on the contrary, this might have been meant to prod them into doing something they were known to be planning to, but which no one knew exactly when. It worked. Their nerve broke. Meanwhile, their actual strength was just enough to catch small fish (in this particular case), but nothing more. The hope was that the president would go along, willingly or unwillingly. This did not happen.

The name of Oleg Soskovets, which emerged, as if unexpectedly, on the list of the outgoing officials on 20 June, simply reaffirmed the alignment of the opposing forces, which, to knowledgeable observers, was already clear. Now it is easy to understand why Aleksey Kandaurov, the mouthpiece of the Group of 13, delivered, on the pages of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, a vehement response to Andranik Migranyan's invective leveled at the Group of 13, which bet on compromise for the sake of stability. The issue was not Migranyan. The issue was Soskovets, who essentially stood for what Migranyan, proceeding from his politological views, described theoretically. That was a rare public outburst of the bitter behind-the-scenes war, whose culmination occurred on the night of 19 and 20 June.

The outcome of the recent goings-on is not assuredly auspicious (about which I will still have a chance to write). But it is obvious that Russia undoubtedly benefited from what occurred on the night of 19 and 20 June, whatever personal, egotistical, or corporate interests those who ensured this victory might have pursued. In this particular case they coincided with national interests, for it is the advocates of the idea of ruling out any risk of civil war who gained the upper hand. Otherwise the war would have been inevitable, for it is no longer possible to impose a dictatorship on Russia for more than three days. I rarely agree with Anatoliy Chubays, but much of what he said in his news conference on 20 June was correct — and on the night on the eve of the coup attempt he acted in a perfectly correct fashion, together with those who surrounded him.

And yet — there is one thing Anatoliy Borisovich [Chubays] should bear in mind. Doesn't it seem to him that he has narrowly escaped the trap that was designed — with his assistance at that — to catch a different beast in September-October 1993. The trap worked at that time, too, but subsequently, having been incorporated into the ideology of the Constitution, now it has nearly devoured Chubays himself. Along with us, Anatoliy Borisovich. So this trap should be removed from both state ideology and the text of the Constitution. Otherwise, sooner or later, it might work once again — and next time be more successful.

And another point. I will dare recall that the last person who publicly demanded from the president the dismissal of both Grachev and Korzhakov was Grigoriy Yavlinskiy — in his well known letter. All the near-democratic public inferred from that letter was that Yavlinskiy wanted to become prime minister and that he lost some virginity. As if one can at all talk about virginity in Russian politics of the past several years. Anyway, Lebed is great; he is just perfect. So far, even a general's uniform does not detract from him. But, for the sake of balance, what about adding the civilian Yavlinskiy, with his 7 percent of the vote, to the general? So that there will actually be no going back — either for two years or for twenty. And, by the way, so that there will be fewer people with a penchant for setting traps.

Military Issues

Russia: Yeltsin Orders Dismissal of Top Generals

LD2506101696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0956 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 25 (Interfax) — President Boris Yeltsin on Tuesday ordered the dismissal of a group of top Russian generals, military sources told Interfax.

These include Col. Gen. Viktor Barynkin, first deputy head of the armed forces General Staff and head of the staff's chief operational department; Col. Gen. Anatoliy Bogdanov, deputy head of the General Staff; and Col. Gen. Vyacheslav Zherebtsov, deputy head of the General Staff and head of the staff's mobilization department.

Also relieved from their posts are Lt. Gen. Sergey Zdorikov, head of the Defense Ministry's main educational department; Col. Gen. Valeriy Lapshov, an aide to the Russian defense minister; Col. Gen. Dmitriy Kharchenko, head of the General Staff's main department for international military cooperation; and Lt. Gen. Vladimir Shulikov, deputy commander-in-chief of the land forces for weaponry.

The presidential decree takes effect from the day of signing — Tuesday, June 25.

Russia: Rodionov Willing To Assume Defense Minister's Post

LD2506084596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0749 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 25 (Interfax) — The chief of the General Staff Academy of the Russian Armed Forces, Col. Gen. Igor Rodionov, who is believed to be one of the main contenders for the post of defense minister, has expressed his readiness to occupy the post "under certain circumstances."

However, he has not yet been offered the job. "I have not received such a proposal yet," he told Interfax on Tuesday.

"The decision is within the competence of the supreme commander, the Russian president," said the general.

Rodionov was born in 1936. He was commander of the 40th army in Afghanistan and of the Caucasian Military District. In April 1989, after Soviet troops dispersed an anti-government meeting in Tbilisi, he was given the post of the chief of the General Staff Military Academy.

Russia: Newscast Speculates on Name of Next Defense Minister

LD2406163396 Moscow NTV in Russian 1500 gmt 24 Jun 96

[From the "Segodnya" newscast presented by Tatyana Mitkova]

[FBIS Translated Text] Perhaps the main focus for debate now is who will occupy the post of defense minister. According to our information, it will definitely not be [Colonel General Mikhail] Kolesnikov, current chief of the general staff, as he is said to be all but out of a job. Director of the Federal Border Service Andrey Nikolayev is destined for his post. Nikolayev himself is avoiding the issue in his meetings with journalists. Here is correspondent Aleksey Pobortsev:

[Pobortsev] The Central Border Guards House in Moscow today saw the first graduation of students from the Russian Academy of Border Troops. After five years of study, 105 Academy graduates received degrees and badges during the ceremony. All the graduates are being posted to the borders and a large proportion will go to the North Caucasus Military

District and to Tajikistan. The director of the Russian Federal Border Service, Andrey Nikolayev, presented degrees and badges to the graduates.

Journalists had lots of questions for Nikolayev, particularly about the possibility of his being appointed defense minister but the general has decided to refrain from giving any interviews until 3 July. Meanwhile, we have learned that Andrey Nikolayev will probably be offered the post of Armed Forces chief of the general staff and that he has already turned down the post of defense minister. Incidentally, again according to unofficial information, the head of the Academy of the General Staff, Yuriy Rodionov, has also turned the post down and he is the secretary of the Security Council Aleksandr Lebed's favored candidate for defense minister.

However, it is most likely that the name of the new minister will be revealed after the Russian presidential election and Mikhail Kolesnikov will remain in the role of acting defense minister until 3 July.

Aleksey Pobortsev, Maksim Stachenkov, NTV, Moscow.

Russia: News Report on Barsukov, Korzhakov, Grachev

LD2406165696 Moscow NTV in Russian 1500 GMT 24 Jun 96

[From the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] A source from the circle of those close to the federal security service of Russia told an ARGUMENTY I FAKTY NOVOSTI correspondent that General Barsukov, former chief of the federal security service, is spending his time at an official dacha and is not showing up in Moscow or in the Kremlin.

According to the same source, General Aleksandr Korzhakov, former head of the presidential security service, will remain in the president's entourage, despite all the ups and downs of the past few weeks. It is possible that he will work in the presidential administration under Nikolay Yegorov.

Retired defense minister Pavel Grachev has gone home to the village of Rvy in Tula region with his family.

Federal Assembly

Russia: Belyayev Speaks on Duma Democratic Coalition Plan

MM2406121796 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p II

[Report by Natalya Bachurina from "Dom i Otechestvo" supplement p II: "Sergey Belyayev: Casting Aside Minor Grievances"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Duma faction of the "Russia Is Our Home" movement has now returned to the idea it voiced back in the early spring. It is a case of creating a broad democratic coalition in the State Duma.

In an exclusive interview with [the rubric] Ideas and Practice, the faction's leader, Sergey Belyayev, commented as follows on the need for this step:

"To be honest, it is annoying to hear the present Duma called 'red.' Yes, the CPRF [Communist Party of the Russian Federation] faction is indeed the biggest. But 35 percent of Communists in the chamber do not give grounds for painting the entire Duma in one color. Simple arithmetic shows that the majority of deputies are a long way from a communist orientation. So when Zyuganov's supporters claim to speak on behalf of the majority of deputies they do not have that right, and voters should know that.

"Another question is how cohesive the democratic majority is. The results of the first round of the presidential elections seem to have sobered many people and they realized that it is better to stick together.

"And finally the idea of a single democratic coalition has been embodied in reality. The initiative of the Russia Is Our Home faction has been supported in particular by the 'Russian Regions' deputies' group and by Deputies Rybkin, Medvedev, and Lakhova. Incidentally, the Russia Is Our Home faction by no means lays claim to leadership in the new coalition, adhering to the principle of parity with all democratically oriented colleagues in the chamber.

"Of course, it is very important what position 'Yabloko' takes. Our representatives have had talks with Yavlinskiy. He has given his personal consent to take part in this coalition. Now it is a case of the consolidated decision of the 'Yabloko' faction.

"I want to stress that the coalition is not being created for the elections. But the deputies' ability to unite now, casting aside petty differences, does, I think, give a graphic example of unification to all society.

"The next week coincides with the deputies' work in the regions. Our faction intends to resolve a series of operational questions in the interests of the regions and specific enterprises. After all, the main thing is work in the interests of the voters, not political demagoguery and rhetoric."

Russia: Roundtable Views Federation's Structure

MM2406135696 Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 21 Jun 96 p 5

[Report by Anna Kozyreva under the "View on a Problem" rubric: "Yegor Stroyev: "'Russia Has Always Been a Union of Peoples.' Senators Discuss State Structure Problems"]

[FBIS Translated Text] What kind of state do you and I live in? A strange question, you might think. In a federative state, of course. That is why it is called the Russian Federation. In 1992 the Federation Treaty was concluded, and in 1993 the Russian Federation Constitution was adopted, enshrining the principle of the equality of all its components. And the upper house of parliament - - the Federation Council — actually consists of regional leaders. Yet this answer is only superficially correct.

The question of building Russian statehood is much more complex. This was eloquently demonstrated by a roundtable discussion in the Federation Council on the problems of developing Russian federalism.

Opening the discussion, [chairman] Yegor Stroyev noted that Russia has always been a unique state in the world in which two opposition tendencies have existed at once: toward unitarianism and toward federalism. On the one hand, with its colossal territory, Russia could not survive without some features of a unitary state. But on the other, Russia used to incorporate parliamentary Finland and the Central Asian emirates, that is to say that individual territories clearly enjoyed a broad autonomy. Yegor Semenovich stressed that, in addition, "Russia has always been a union of peoples." None of the small peoples that live in our country has lost its own language or its own culture or suffered a diminution of its originality. And the task today is to preserve the state's unity. What is the best way to do this? After all, today too there are two parallel processes underway: the process of forming a unitary state and, on the other hand, the process of forming not a federation but a confederation.

How this came about is clear. In 1918 the national-territorial principle, whereby the federative structure was put forward as means of resolving the nationalities question, was laid down as the basis of the state's structure. Moreover, Soviet federalism was not the result of the unification of previously existing states. On the contrary, these states were created at the whim of the Center. A unique case in history!

The new Federation Treaty enshrined the national-territorial division of Russia. Many believe that this was a serious error by the Center. For example, this was how Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who took part in the roundtable session, described this policy.

In the writer's opinion, our state's leadership, fearing accusations of imperial ambition, have today transformed the national autonomies and republics that were in many ways a fiction under Soviet power into genuine national formations "in which the national elites have obtained power over the Russian majority." If the Center continues to remain a passive observer of this process, the Russian will cease to exist! This was Solzhenitsyn's forceful expression; he said that he already saw "cracks appearing in Russia's body." In his opinion, the federative structure in its current form contradicts the principle of equal rights for all peoples, since everything in the national republic is defined by the so-called "eponymous nation." Many speakers were concerned about the process that had now begun of concluding treaties on the delimitation of powers between the Center and the components. In fact, so far this process looked like giving special privileges to certain regions. What was the principle behind the approach here? What was the order of priorities?

It was noted that virtually all of the 15 treaties on the delimitation of powers concluded to date contravened the Russian Constitution. The whole thing had now become absurd. Not only Irkutsk Oblast, but also its Ust-Ordynskiy Rayon had concluded a special treaty with the Center.

It should be recalled that, if one region started paying less into the budget, that meant that certain other regions had to pay more. Because federal programs and institutions needed money.

The current practice whereby a federation component has control over its mineral resources was also incorrect, in the opinion of many. Following this approach Volgograd Oblast, for example, could declare part of the Volga its own property, and Moscow could lay claim to the sky above its airports....

The situation had come about in our country whereby some regions have gold and diamonds, while others live exclusively at the expense of the federal budget. In connection with this situation the question arose: Could a federation component be autonomous if it could not supply even a third of its economic needs?

This question was answered in Vladimir Shumeyko's speech. Incidentally, that the chairman of the first Federation Council participated in the roundtable was fairly indicative. He recalled the history of the question of signing special treaties with the Center. First Tatarstan had been unwilling to sign the Federation Treaty. The Center had met it halfway, enshrining in the treaty a special relationship with the republic. And although Russia was saved from schism, after a certain time other components realized that, if someone else had advantages, they could ask to be given them as well. In Vladimir Shumeyko's opinion, special treaties with the Center do not remove anomalies, but reinforce them. All this occurs because a definition of the very combination "federation component" has nowhere yet been given; nor is the status of such a component clear. Perhaps was where we should have started from in creating our state system. He also believed that 89 components were too many. In fact, only 20 of them were self-sufficient. And it was no accident that many regions were uniting into economic associations. Perhaps these associations ("Greater Volga," "Siberian Accord"...) were indeed the future new Russian components? In that case, the senators believe, it is essential to adopt a federal code defining the state structure of our country.

As we can see, there are more questions at the moment than answers. But members of the Federation Council fully intend to find all the answers. There is no other way, as the saying goes.

Regional Affairs

Russia: Yeltsin Orders Gradual Troop Withdrawal From Chechnya

LD2506101896 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1008 GMT 25 Jun 96

[By Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 25 (Itar-Tass) — President Boris Yeltsin signed on Tuesday a decree on withdrawing forces and materiel, fulfilling tasks on disarming all illegal armed detachments in the Chechen Republic.

Itar-Tass learnt from presidential press secretary Sergey Medvedev that Yeltsin ruled, starting from the time of signing the decree, that is from this Tuesday, "to begin gradual withdrawal of forces and materiel" from the Chechen Republic to places of their permanent deployment.

The withdrawal will be done "along with stabilisation of the situation in districts and towns as well as villages in the Chechen Republic".

The pullout of formations and units of the Russian Armed Forces, which are component parts of the Leningrad, Moscow, Volga and Ural military districts, is to be completed by September 1, 1996.

The president instructed the government to carry out measures connected with gradual withdrawal of forces and materiel as well as to take additional measures to build facilities for formations and units stationed in the Chechen Republic on a permanent basis.

Russia: Troops To Withdraw 28 Jun; Leader Criticizes OSCE Input

LD2406192096 Moscow NTV in Russian
1800 gmt 24 Jun 96

[From the "Segodnya" newscast presented by Tatyana Mitkova]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] It was announced in Chechnya today that the 245th Motorized Rifle Regiment will leave the conflict zone on 28 June. The regiment is being withdrawn unilaterally, Lieutenant General [Vyacheslav] Tikhomirov, commander of the federal grouping, announced in Groznyy today.

That was just about the only point brought up at the conference from which it followed that peace is still possible in Chechnya. The general spoke sharply and did not hide his attitude to the talks.

[Begin Tikhomirov recording] The attempts to put an end to combat operations and to exchange POWs is turning into a work of fiction. The work of the working commissions is turning into a bazaar with bartering of the most real kind. The agreements signed in Moscow are not resolving the question in a constructive way, that is, they do not allow a new position to be reached.

The position of Tim Guldimann [of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe — OSCE], who was present at these talks, is a source of amazement. It seems to me that he is causing the sides to fail to understand each other in the first place and, sometimes, on the contrary, is causing confrontation between these sides.

Such an esteemed organization has nothing in common with that man. The question should be raised with that organization as to whether or not this is Guldimann's personal position or the position of the OSCE mission, which occupies a respected place in the world and really does resolve major practical tasks by creating peace and accord in conflict zones where it has missions.

Guldimann's position is evidently one-sided, evidently tendentious. I have to state once again that attempts to hold constructive talks with bandits are getting nowhere. [passage omitted]

That gang does not want peace. It simply wants a temporary truce.

The question of lifting and reducing checkpoints and the schedule for troop withdrawal should be coordinated in context with the leadership of the Chechen Republic and not with bandits, thereby creating a privileged position for those bandits and thereby not recognizing the existing government, the existing state structures, the bodies of law enforcement, and legality. I think that this is a very great mistake. [end recording]

Russia: Chechen Spokesman Doubtful of Troop Withdrawal by 28 Jun

LD2406172796 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1540 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] "I have grounds for thinking that the 'unilateral' withdrawal of the 245th Motorized Rifle Regiment from Chechnya will not take place on 28 June," Ruslan Martagov, press secretary of the head of the Republic of Chechnya, told Ekho Moskvy radio station.

"We plan to begin the withdrawal of troops from the new year," R. Martagov continued. "However, as soon as we begin talks about troop withdrawal, provocations begin on the part of the fighters."

"In principle, the withdrawal of troops is vitally necessary for the Government of Chechnya, but not the fighters," R. Martagov stressed. "We bear full responsibility for what the federal troops are doing in the republic. The fighters, represented by Zemlikhan Yandarbiyev and Shamil Basayev justify their existence only if there are troops in Chechnya."

Russia: Stepashin, Mikhaylov, Slipchenko To Depart for Chechnya

LD2406175496 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 1635 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting between Sergey Stepashin, executive secretary of the state commission for settling the conflict in Chechnya, and Security Council Secretary Aleksandr Lebed has just ended, Sergey Slipchenko, head of the state commission's press service, told Ekho Moskvy radio station.

At the meeting, S. Stepashin informed A. Lebed about the work of the state commission and about the implementation of the agreements in Nazran.

Sergey Stepashin, Vyacheslav Mikhaylov, Russian Federation minister for affairs of nationalities, and Sergey Slipchenko, head of the state commission's press service, will leave for Chechnya soon to organize a new meeting with the leadership of the Chechen opposition.

Russia: Lebed, Stepashin Hold Working Meeting on Chechnya

LD2406163996 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1555 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, 24 June (Interfax) — Aleksandr Lebed, the Security Council's secretary, and Sergey Stepashin, executive secretary of the Russian state commission for settling the Chechen crisis, held a working meeting in Moscow on Monday (24th June).

Sergey Slipchenko, the commission's press secretary, told Interfax that Sergey Stepashin briefed Aleksandr Lebed on the commission's work and future plans.

In addition, Aleksandr Lebed was shown the peace accords signed by representatives of the federal authorities and Chechen separatists in Nazran.

Russia: Yeltsin Orders Special Commission To Handle Chechnya Abuses

LD2406165396 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1104 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 24 Jun (Itar-Tass) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin's edict assigns the functions of the Provisional Supervisory Commission to Observe Citizens' Constitutional Rights and Freedoms to the State Commission of the Russian Federation for the Settlement of the Crisis in the Chechen Republic, which was set up in April this year by order of the head of government. A report received today at ITAR-TASS from the Presidential Press Service indicates that the edict was signed in connection with the assignment to the State Commission of duties associated with the general management of the process of resolving the crisis in the territory of the Chechen Republic.

The Provisional Supervisory Commission to Observe Citizens' Constitutional Rights and Freedoms was established in accordance with an edict of the president of the Russian Federation from December 1994. The commission was given the right "to monitor, after informing the Federal Armed Forces Command" the way in which the Armed Forces were carrying out their assignments. It was instructed to "report to the president of the Russian Federation and also to the heads of the appropriate federal agencies of executive power on any violations of the rights and freedoms of citizens that come to light and any incidences of its activities being impeded."

Russia: Chechen Opposition Claims Federal Troops Violating Accords

LD2506070496 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0646 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, June 25 (Interfax) — The opposition coordinating council of political parties and movements in Chechnya has declared that the federal side fails to observe the agreements signed in Moscow on May 27 and in Nazran on June 10.

The federal command and the Moscow-backed government under Doku Zavgayev are provoking the deepening of the conflict, the June 16 parliamentary elections being an example, claims the council's statement, issued on Tuesday.

The statement also says the number of checkpoints is growing instead of shrinking as provided for by the accords.

The Chechen opposition delegation to the talks with the federal side made similar claims Monday.

Russia: OSCE Support Group 'Alarmed' by Chechen Talks Slowdown

LD2506101096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0942 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, June 25 (Interfax) — The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] support group in Chechnya is alarmed by the slowdown in the talks on the settlement of the Chechen crisis, deputy head of the group Zenon Kuhchar told Interfax Tuesday.

He said mutual mistrust is deepening between the federal authorities and the Chechen armed opposition. This process is accompanied by a growing number of violations of the cease-fire agreement.

Nevertheless, he welcomed the readiness of the Moscow-backed Chechen leader Doku Zavgayev "to unite with all forces for the sake of peace in Chechnya."

The OSCE mission attaches great significance to the experience of diplomacy among the Chechen people.

The official said the mission would not comment on the speech of the commander of the federal force in Chechnya, Gen. Vyacheslav Tikhomirov, or his criticism of OSCE mission head Tim Guldimann.

On Monday the Russian military leader accused Guldimann of inconsistency and bias.

Kuhchar said the efforts of the OSCE mission will be concentrated on forming conditions for trust between the sides to the talks and mutual respect in the spirit of the best Chechen customs and traditions.

Russia: Explosions Reported at Artillery Supply Depot in Maritime

LD2506115396 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1129 GMT 25 Jun 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Konoplitskiy]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladivostok, 25 Jun (ITAR-TASS) — An explosion rocked artillery supply depots in Partizanskiy district, Maritime Territory, at around 1400 Moscow Time today. So far there have been no reports about casualties or damage. The explosions are continuing.

Yevgeniy Nazdratenko, the governor of Maritime Territory, and representatives of defense, security, internal affairs, and civil defense structures went to the scene of the incident immediately. Measures are being taken to have the explosions contained.

Russia: Luzhkov To Devolve Power, Fight Crime, Work on Environment

MM2406132396 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 1

[Report by Sergey Knyazkov: "Yuriy Luzhkov, Twice Moscow Mayor"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov's inauguration ceremony took place Friday morning [21 June]. As you know, he was reelected to this post 16 June 1996.

After 89.65 percent of Muscovites gave Yuriy Mikhaylovich in effect unanimous backing, he sent them a message of thanks. In it Luzhkov said, in particular, that Russians "are entitled to expect a qualitative improvement in all spheres of life," assured them that he knows "how to make this a reality" in Moscow, and stressed that "all honest Muscovites will feel" the justice of his words.

The newly elected mayor's next step was to dismiss the former Moscow Government and department leaders. Admittedly, Yuriy Luzhkov gave assurances at a news conference that there would be no radical changes of personnel, although the replacement of "some people and structures must be expected." The city's mayor needed this renewal in order to "delegate the city government's authority to a considerable degree to the territorial bodies."

At the same time the mayor gave assurances that a "radical change in the authorities' reaction to signals from the population" lies in store for Muscovites. The "reaction" will be monitored. Yuriy Luzhkov intends to use this instrument to perform two main tasks over the next four years: "crime-fighting, and the environment in all its aspects." [passage omitted]

Economic Issues

Russia: State Revenue-Raising a Problem Even if Yeltsin Wins

MM2406121296 Moscow TRUD in Russian 21 Jun 96 p 2

[Article by Aleksandr Protsenko: "Will Panskov's Pyramid Collapse?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Boris Yeltsin needs to win the second round of the presidential election as soon as possible — the Russian economy simply cannot take any further delay. It has already "passed the point of inflationary safety," as Central Bank Chairman Sergey Dubinin put it. He made this statement after the State Duma had forced the Central Bank to transfer five trillion rubles [R] from its profits to the country's budget, which was left practically without a penny to its name one week before the election.

Economy Minister Yevgeniy Yasin had already told the government chairman in a special official memorandum about the dire state of Russia's finances in general and the state budget in particular. While pointing out that the state's tax receipts are extremely poor, the minister at the same time warned of another danger: "The state short-term bonds market is on the brink of collapse. Even with bonds that are highly lucrative, confidence in the state is so low that market agents prefer foreign exchange...."

The state bonds mentioned by Yasin even today are all but the sole source of income for our government. Because the other source — taxes — is bringing no more than half of the planned sum into the coffers, even by the tax inspectorate's most "extravagant" reports. So we have to depend on state short-term bonds. But to persuade purchasers to put money into them, that is, loan money to the government through them, the Finance Ministry has recently been forced to effect an unprecedented increase in the profitability of its bonds: Last week it had reached 380 percent per year! That is, the government is continuing to build its own "financial pyramid" by increasing the internal state debt — our debt — at a flat-out, revolutionary pace. And since state short-term bond debts periodically have to be repaid, you cannot help wondering: What will happen to the country if one "black day" the government is unable to sell new tranches of its bonds and therefore cannot pay off the old ones?

Last year the country faced that very danger: Many experts warned of an unsustainable growth in the state short-term bond pyramid, which had absorbed nearly all the money available in the country. But the Finance Ministry buoyantly replied that there was no danger, the process of collecting money for the budget was proceeding normally, and no upheavals were expected in the financial market. Indeed, it was very swiftly decided to admit foreigners to the state short-term bonds market; with them came extra funds, and the Finance Ministry was able to borrow money on that market at a lower interest rate; as a result disaster was averted, or at least it receded.

This year government financial experts are clearly hoping for the same effect: They say that, whereas foreign investors are not knocking at Russia's door at the moment, owing to the unpredictable political situation it will all be different tomorrow. The election is actually being held, Boris Yeltsin will establish himself at the head of the country for another four years, and dollars, pounds, marks, and yen will at last be flooding into the country, and they will raise the Russian economy to impossible heights this very year, boosting it by at least three percent.

The officials' optimism is impressive, of course, but it is unconvincing. If only because, while Russia was standing at another crossroads, the world was experiencing an investment boom without us: According to the latest UN figures, last year direct foreign investments increased by as much as 46 percent, reaching $325 billion. Practice shows that following similar jumps the investment process has slowed down, so Russia cannot count on many billions again. Or on a major economic upturn.

And it is not even a matter of the Finance Ministry's not even having the money to finance the second round of the presidential election (although Minister Vladimir Panskov is confidently promising to be able to scrape something together by next week). The problem is that we are again trying to "make capital" almost exclusively out of foreign aid and foreign credits, but have no wish at all to turn to internal reserves. For example, the executive authorities are using the "state short-term bonds pyramid" solely to finance ever-increasing current expenditure, while the competition for support for the best investment projects, which has been promised many times, has been set aside for a "better day."

Although, first vice premier Vladimir Kadannikov has already started enthusiastically conducting a tax reform in Russia. The idea is to bring in a great deal more for the state treasury by abolishing privileges and lowering the overall level of taxation while at the same time widening the tax base. But when you consider that the planned reform is intended to gradually transfer the tax burden from enterprises to individuals, whereas we, those individuals, are not accustomed to that but, on the contrary, are accustomed to concealing our income, not only from the state, but even from sharp-eyed wives, then....

In short, we cannot expect rivers of milk and honey in the next six months even under Yeltsin. Let alone under Zyuganov!

Russia: Panskov Accounts for Seized Central Bank's Profit

MK2506090196 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 2

[Report by Svetlana Lolayeva: "Largest Share of Central Bank's 5 Trillion Has Been Used To Pay Wages. Finance Ministry Is Selling Precious Metals for Same Purpose"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Vladimir Panskov reported to members of the lower house yesterday how the profit of the Central Bank, amounting to 5 trillion rubles [R] — requisitioned by the Finance Ministry with the help of the State Duma — had been distributed. Of the R5 trillion transferred by the Central Bank as promptly as 8 June (three days after the corresponding law was passed), the largest share — R3.76 trillion — was allotted to the provinces as budget loans; the Defense Ministry received R1.1 trillion for defense order; R80 billion were given to the Atomic Energy Ministry for the same purpose; and R130 billion were used to pay scholarships to students. The finance minister assured that the targeted use of the funds was being overseen by both his agency and the president's Control Directorate and that no serious violations had been disclosed so far. In Mr. Panskov's words, the bulk of the loans to the regional budgets should be used for the settlement of wage arrears (according to the State Statistical Committee, as of 10 June, budgetary arrears of wages grew by 35 percent as compared with 3 June and amounted to R5.6 trillion, of which the educational sphere accounted for R2.9 trillion) and for leave payments.

The reassuring information of the finance minister, supported by the official information of the Accounting Chamber, usually met by deputies with great trust, however, failed to satisfy the parliamentarians. Mr. Panskov was overwhelmed with questions on why, despite the money transfer, teachers of some particular regions of Russia had not been given wages nor leave pay yet. The finance minister — having probably been inspired by the example of Aleksandr Lebed, who cut short any attempts of the deputies to change the subject of the discussion — said very harshly that he cannot answer for the actions of local administrations. Having said that he had neither resources nor people to oversee all money flows in the localities, Vladimir Panskov urged the deputies to take part in the oversight of how budgetary funds are being spent in the provinces.

The minister reacted no less firmly to the accusation that loans had been given only to some privileged regions. In his words, the Finance Ministry had "neither favorites nor outcasts" and loans were allotted to those regions (72 out of the 89) where expenditures in June were expected to exceed revenues. In addition, Vladimir Panskov reminded to the deputies that the transfer of the Central Bank's profit was envisioned in the law on the budget, whereas the granting of budgetary loans was not.

Mr. Panskov confirmed the deputies' fears that the allotted amounts were insufficient to settle wage arrears and noted that, had there been such a possibility, greater help should have been rendered. Incidentally, according to some information, the Finance Ministry has sold precious metals to the Central Bank to raise additional funds for the settlement of wage arrears.

Russia: Authorized Banks To Export Rubles Without Limits

LD2506104596 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1003 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 25 (FIA-INTERFAX) — Authorized commercial banks of Russia will be able to export and import cash rubles without any limits after the Russian Justice Ministry registers the Central Bank's provisions on ruble cash import-exports, Deputy Head of the Russian Central Bank's main department for currency regulation and control Vladimir Smirnov told correspondents Tuesday.

He said that authorized banks which have a currency license will have the right to export and transfer rubles abroad when the cash is drawn from a correspondence account of a nonresident bank or for reinforcement of their offices on territory of a foreign country. A similar procedure is to be introduced for imports of rubles.

Smirnov said individuals can export and import cash rubles without producing a document giving permission for sums of up to 500 minimum salaries (some 38 million rubles). If the sum of imported rubles exceeds these limits, the individuals will have to produce a certificate on the source of the cash attested by a Russian consulate on the territory of a foreign country.

He said individuals will be prohibited from transferring cash rubles from or into Russia. It is also prohibited to import memorable coins issued by the Central Bank.

In the opinion of Smirnov, the new procedure for international operations with cash will help to consolidate the national currency and implement the statement of the Russian Central Bank and the government on joining article 8 of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) Charter, which provides for free convertibility of rubles for current operations.

The Central Bank and the State Customs Committee will also introduce a system of information exchange and accounts of imports and exports of rubles in cash.

Russia: Grain Situation Will Remain 'Tense'

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[Article by Andrey Sizov, leader of the 'Sovekon' center: "Grain Market Situation Remains Tense"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The gross grain harvest throughout Russia as a whole in 1996 is forecast at 75-80 million tonnes compared with 63.5 million last year.

The sowing of spring grain crops: Areas will be reduced 5-7 percent. Because of the relatively cold April the sowing of spring grain crops in the majority of regions of Russia began markedly later than last year. With the arrival of mild weather in late April and the first half of May the pace of sowing has increased.

But in the second half of May the lag behind the sowing schedule of previous years was reduced only slightly in many regions. That applies to the majority of regions of the European part of Russia. The hot, dry weather in the first and second 10-day periods of May had an effect. Under these conditions it was essential to carry out the sowing rapidly. But many farms did not manage to do this because of the lack of equipment for sowing and its poor standard of readiness. Moreover, a number of farms encountered a shortage of high-quality seeds caused by last year's harvest shortfall in these regions.

As a result the area sown to spring grain crops in all regions of the European part (except the Northern region) will be 7-18 percent less than last year.

Until the end of May a complex situation remained in the Transurals region. But by early June the sowing of spring grain crops had virtually reached the average annual sowing schedule rate. Nonetheless the later schedule for the sowing could delay the start of the harvest and in the event of unfavorable weather conditions lead to additional losses.

As a whole the area sown to spring grain crops (not counting corn) is assessed at 40.4 million hectares, which is 6 percent less than last year.

The reduction in sowings of spring grain crops will involve a reduction in areas sown to grain feed crops. Preliminary assessments of the results of the sowing show that areas sown to grain feed crops (barley and oats) this year will on average decline 10-15 percent and will be the lowest since the early nineties. Despite the more favorable weather conditions and the expected increase in yield, harvests of these crops are predicted at last year's extremely low levels: Barley at 15-18 million tonnes (in 1995 the figure was 15.8 million tonnes) and oats at 8-10 million tonnes (in 1995 the figure was 8.6 million tonnes).

Spring wheat has been sown to a record area. In the absolute majority of regions the reduction in the areas sown to grain feed crops is accompanied by an expansion of areas sown to spring wheat. The only exception is the Volga region. In all other regions areas sown to spring wheat will be expanded. In the Urals and West Siberia — the leading regions for the production of spring wheat — sown areas are expected to be of record size since the early nineties.

This reflects the farms' intention to increase the production and sale of wheat on the domestic market, which last year were obviously inadequate to meet domestic demand. The expansion of sown areas and what are as a whole more favorable weather conditions could lead to the spring wheat harvest being increased to 18-20 million tonnes compared with 16.3 million last year.

The gross grain harvest in 1996 cold increase to 75-80 million tonnes, primarily through the growth of winter grain crops production. By the middle of June dead winter grain crops had been resown over an area of 818,000 hectares whereas in 1995 and 1994 they were sown over, respectively, areas of 1,952,000 hectares and 2,340,000 hectares. It is expected that in 1996 the total death of winter grain crops will not exceed 6-8 percent of their sown area as against 20 percent in the previous two years. Here the area sown to winter crops is greater than last year.

This year the total winter wheat and rye harvest is predicted at 25-28 million tonnes (in 1995 the figure was 17.9 million tonnes) including 19-21 tonnes of winter wheat (in 1995 the figure was 13.8 million tonnes) and 6-7 million tonnes of rye (in 1995 the figure was 4.1 million tonnes).

Considering the expected spring wheat harvest, wheat production as a whole could rise to 37-39 million tonnes. That is considerably more than last year (30.1 million tonnes) and accords with average wheat harvests in 1991-1995 (38.2 million tonnes).

The situation on the Russian grain market in 1996-1997 will remain tense. Despite the increase in the gross harvest it is expected to be at a level markedly below the average annual production over the past five years (88 million tonnes). Considering the extremely depleted stocks of grain on the farms and also difficulties in financing imports, the situation on the Russian grain market in the forthcoming 1996-1997 agricultural year (July through June) will be tense.

International Affairs

Ukraine: Ukraine Favors 'Special Partnership' With NATO

LD2506103896 Moscow Interfax in English
1027 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, June 25 (Interfax-Ukraine) — Ukraine favors a special partnership with NATO and the signing of a relevant agreement. The essence of this partnership may be expressed in Ukraine's "associate status in NATO," Chief of the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's political analysis and forecast department Igor Kharchenko told a briefing in Kiev on Tuesday.

Foreign Minister Gennady Udovenko made a relevant statement on June 21 at the NATO conference in Warsaw, he said.

The founding documents of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, for example, the 1949 Washington agreement, provide only for full membership in the alliance, Kharchenko said in comment on Udovenko's statement for Interfax-Ukraine. However, the Washington agreement was signed "in an absolutely different historical situation," he said. The alliance's goals were "somewhat different from today."

NATO strategy is being reviewed and "its mechanisms and structures are changing accordingly," said Kharchenko.

He also said that Ukraine's proposal was handed over both to the NATO leadership and to all member-countries of the alliance.

Kharchenko said that Ukraine does not seek full membership in the alliance, but "it raises the question on working out mechanisms which, if NATO expands, would make the situation around it more predictable and concrete in terms of formalizing the relations between Ukraine and NATO."

In his addressing the Warsaw conference, Udovenko particularly stressed the need to develop the relations of a close strategic partnership between NATO and Russia, Kharchenko said.

Speaking about Ukraine's attitude to the hypothetical possibility of the deployment of nuclear arms on the territories of new NATO member-countries, Kharchenko said, that for Ukraine "even a theoretical likelihood of the deployment of such weapons in immediate proximity to the Ukrainian borders is inacceptable."

Ukraine: Kuchma Arrives in Warsaw for Official Visit

LD2506102996 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
0850 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw [no date as received] — On 25 June, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma arrived on an official visit to Warsaw.

According to a UNIAN correspondent, during the visit Kuchma is expected to meet Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski, Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych, marshal of the Senate Adam Struzik, and Prime Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz.

During the meetings, it is expected they will discuss issues of coordinating both countries' activities in integrating their accession into the European economic and political space, deepening cooperation within European structures, familiarizing the Polish side with Ukraine's approaches to the problem of NATO's expansion, as well as discussing the Ukrainian president's proposals on setting up a political and economic union of Central and East European countries and a nonnuclear zone in the area between the Black and Baltic seas. It is planned that a raft of bilateral documents will be signed on the results of the visit.

During the visit it is expected that a document on the mutual return of cultural valuables will also be signed. In particular, the Lvov library named after V. Stefanyk, will pass to Poland a valuable collection of Polish press material dating from the 1920s and 1930s.

Ukraine: Kuchma Holds News Conference

LD2306204096 Kiev UT-1 Television Network
in Ukrainian 1840 GMT 23 Jun 96

[News conference with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma and unidentified correspondents in Kiev on 22 June — recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Correspondent] What is your preliminary assessment of the constitution debate? Did it confirm your expectations?

[Kuchma] First of all, let me welcome all of you. I am glad to have the opportunity to talk to you and the television viewers. I am aware of the importance of this meeting, as for the next hour I will be facing not just the Jupiters, but Ukraine's most influential, most respected journalists. As regards your question, I think there are few people in Ukraine today who are satisfied with the constitutional process taking place now. It has been delayed too much, and as a result, Ukraine is the only former Soviet republic without a constitution, and, moreover, the only one to see the fifth anniversary of its independence without a constitution that indeed would confirm its independence.

But this is the way it is in our society, and this is the way we are. I think the breakthroughs that were achieved recently, such as the approval in the first reading of the draft presented by the constitutional commission and the work of the parliament's ad-hoc commission, give us reasons to see our future and to expect this process to come to a favorable conclusion in the near future. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Leonid Danylovych, you will agree that the majority are keen to know what social guarantees the constitution will provide for the Ukrainian citizen. What will happen to education and health care? We would like all to hear what your position is, what you will insist on in terms of social guarantees.

[Kuchma] As far as I understand, there has been much speculation in society on these issues, and allegations have been made that the new constitution does not envisage the citizen's right to education and health care. But this is not true. Even if you look at the drafts published in your own publications, for which I am grateful, there is every reason to state the opposite. First of all, such rights are granted to citizens, and the state is given a duty to provide the necessary conditions. Therefore, all education and health institutions, both in state and municipal ownership, will be free of charge. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] My question concerns the constitution itself and the constitutional process. It was obvious from the start that the draft prepared by the constitutional commission would require amendment, polishing, and a degree of compromise, which is what has been happening lately. But are you alarmed by the fact that in the course of negotiations the draft was reshaped so much that the constitution adopted on its basis may not be sufficiently effective?

[Kuchma] Yes, I am alarmed. Because in my view and in the opinion of experts — not only Ukrainian but foreign as well, to whose expertise we had the opportunity to resort — the draft prepared by the constitutional commission was the best one, because it was written by experts, and nobody else. What we have today is a draft finalized by politicians. I repeat, I think it is much worse than the one that was presented by the constitutional commission to the Supreme Council.

But you will understand that the president had to make concessions in this respect for the single purpose of having a constitution fully approved by the Supreme Council. The fact is, we failed to use this historic chance. The parliament deliberations of the past few days have shown that we will not have a constitution approved by the Supreme Council.

[Correspondent] There is a limit to patience, Leonid Danylovych. What happened on Friday is something that cannot go on indefinitely. It is impossible to put up with quotations from Lenin, searching for the nonexistent Soviet Union on the map, and so on. My question is, what is the limit of people's patience and how long can this go on in parliament on behalf of the people?

[Kuchma] Well, if the Supreme Council could not even vote for our status as the Ukrainian people [reference to the constitutional definition], what are the chances of getting the constitution approved by the Supreme Council? None whatsoever, that is absolutely clear. Every attempt is being made to delay the process. At first, it was delayed until 16 June, now until 3 July, as some political forces still hope for a political change in Russia, so that our political forces get not only moral but financial support to push forward a constitution of their choice. So it is quite clear where the limit lies. It is 25 June.

[Correspondent] Do you think that not only the Ukrainian president but all the elected deputies should take an oath of allegiance to Ukraine prior to receiving credentials, and anybody calling for anything that does not conform to Ukrainian [word indistinct] should resign?

[Kuchma] I would vote for it with both hands. This is the way it was meant to be. It was meant that every deputy should take an oath prior to taking his post. Then we would see who is for Ukraine and who is for some other state. It would be clear whose parliament it is, whose interests it is going to safeguard.

[Correspondent] In this connection, the Supreme Council is likely to approve 90-95 percent of the constitutional articles, in a sort of political consensus....

[Kuchma, interrupting] Do not count on it.

[Correspondent] But five or ten will remain, and what do you do with them?

[Kuchma] It is a well-known plan designed by certain forces, including the leadership of the Supreme Council, to pass the majority of articles, then single out five, six, or ten and make a political show of it, and you know well which articles will remain unapproved. We cannot agree to that, because the constitution is a complete document, and we cannot pinch any articles from it. Besides, the constitutional process has two sides to it. One is the Supreme Council and the other is the president. If the article-by-article debate produces a different constitution, the president will not agree. The procedure advocated by the Supreme Council leadership is unacceptable, and as far as I understand, the majority of deputies realize that. They will not allow this road to be taken.

[Correspondent] What will you do if this happens, if 5 or 10 percent remains unapproved?

[Kuchma] 25 June.

[Correspondent] As the constitution is still in the stage of approval, we can already see different interpretations of this or that provision. I understand that our primary concern at the moment is to have the constitution approved. But what will happen after the referendum, after the constitution is adopted, in case there are different interpretations of this or that article? What I am driving at is the constitutional court. What do you think its functions and role will be so as to prevent what happened in Russia, where the constitutional court became involved in politics?

[Kuchma] As you know, the constitutional commission's draft envisages 14 members of the constitutional court, formed jointly by the parliament and the president. Now, the draft prepared by the ad-hoc commission and approved by the Supreme Council in the first reading envisages three sides to take equal part in the formation of the constitutional court: the president, the parliament, and the judiciary.

The draft constitution also spells out the powers of the constitutional court. As long as it acts in accordance with the constitution, it will continue to exist. Once it becomes involved in political activity that runs counter to our constitution, the same will happen as in Russia. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Mr. President, our country has proclaimed its nonaligned, neutral status. Do you think the constitution should contain clear guidelines for the state's foreign policy activities? Also, pending your trip to our neighbor Poland, already the second this month, do you think Poland's model of foreign policy activities as a post-Communist state in Eastern Europe could be of use to Ukraine?

[Kuchma] I fully agree with you. We can learn from Poland not only in politics but in economics. I will be very pleased to discuss these particular issues during my official visit to Poland for one day and a half, starting on 25 June. But I think the constitution should give us enough room for maneuver. That is my view. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] We were in Moscow for a whole week during the election campaign and the election, and we witnessed the attitude of different political forces and ordinary people, including Muscovites, toward Ukraine. [passage omitted: replay of Russian presidential candidates' remarks on Ukraine]

Are we ready for a change in Russia's economic course and possibly even political blackmail, and are we prepared to give up our nonaligned status should there be a drastic change in Russian foreign policy?

[Kuchma] I agree that everything has to be paid for. Fortunately, we understood this long ago and act accordingly. We are not counting on any kind uncle to help us, not even a big brother. The big brother is poor himself, (?and he has) many problems. I think there are no grounds for a change in Ukrainian foreign policy and our nonaligned status. It is our blessing today. The first Supreme Council must have had great foresight to make this decision, although it did so for reasons quite different from the political situation on the European continent today.

We are morally ready for a tougher line from Russia, which would be quite natural, for, as the Russian saying goes, the location of the chair shapes the point of view. Whoever comes to power in Russia, Yeltsin or Zyuganov, Russian policy on Ukraine will be the same. So let us be thoroughly prepared for this, both economically and politically. However, I am confident that even Zyuganov will prefer normal relations with Ukraine; even Zyuganov will not want to start his term with any negative change in the relations between Ukraine and Russia.

[Correspondent] What about Aleksandr Lebed?

[Kuchma] Lebed is not a president. He is an adviser to Russian President Boris Yeltsin. As I said, the location of the chair shapes the point of view. As soon as Lebed sits down and examines the problems facing Russia in the Army, military industrial complex, and law-enforcement bodies, his mind will be occupied with something very different from the statements he made during the election campaign and is still making today. The situation itself will force him to take quite different decisions.

[Correspondent] The latest version of the draft constitution envisages a ban on the deployment of foreign troops in the territory of Ukraine. Mr. President, do you subscribe to this provision in principle? If yes, how are you going to solve the problem of the Black Sea Fleet's deployment in Sevastopol, Crimea, to which Ukraine agreed in the Sochi accords?

[Kuchma] I support the view that there should be no foreign bases in Ukraine, and that the Black Sea should be a zone of peace and cooperation in the Black Sea region. But that is a matter of distant future. Meanwhile, the reality of today is such that there is a Russian fleet base in Crimea, in Sevastopol. The constitution should reflect this accordingly. Either there should be no mention of it at all — as this is an issue to be decided by the executive and the parliament, which will be ratifying this or that treaty. Otherwise, the interim provisions should set out the period for which these bases can stay. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] In your opinion, how do the developments in Russia, that is, the completion of the first round of the Russian election and the forthcoming second round, affect Ukraine's constitutional process? I mean the effect on the majority in parliament, or maybe they are no longer a majority. In what way can Zyuganov's intention to visit Ukraine before the second round flare up these emotions and sentiments here?

[Kuchma] As a pragmatist, I believe that a tremor in Russia means an earthquake here. I would like to see things develop in a civilized way in Russia. I am very glad that the first round of the presidential election brought victory to Russian democracy. I think it is a great achievement, and we should be pleased with this course of the Russian election campaign.

The fact that Russia affects the constitutional process in Ukraine is an axiom that needs no proof. We can see it from the conduct of the Communist faction in parliament, which is doing all it can to delay this process, all it can. I did not follow personally, but I heard some reports about the voting, and it amazes me. Is this the Ukrainian Communist Party or the Russian Communist Party? Because sometimes one wonders whose interests it represents, Ukraine's national interests or some other interests? At the end of the day, one hopes that the Communist Party does not carry that much weight in our country, and that this will lead other political forces and movements, particularly the centrist forces, to rally together. I have the confidence that this process in Ukraine will stay on course.

As for Zyuganov's visit, he has every right and opportunity to come. As you know, I have met Zyuganov, and I treat him with respect. I cannot treat him in any other way because Zyuganov is the leader of the Russian Communist Party, which enjoys huge influence in Russia and has a huge number of seats in the Russian parliament. Ukrainian politicians have to reckon with that. We have to cooperate. But Zyuganov always stands up for Russia. I would like all our political forces to stand up for Ukraine. Then we will have mutual understanding. Nobody can deny that our left forces have every opportunity to come to power in a parliamentary way. Please, go ahead. But do not call people to the streets and take to proletarian arms or stones. This will have unpredictable consequences in Ukraine. As for the results of left-wing victories in East European countries that caused so much joy among our left, we can see their results. The results do not testify in favor of this course, but, on the contrary, in favor of what we started and what we have to continue, but not the way we have been doing it, because we often delayed decisions that threatened to make the government unpopular.

We need to look again at the decisions we took before, because if our budget is currently recording unforeseen expenses at over 600 trillion karbovantsi, tell me, who benefits from it? Who are we hiding from? Who is made to blame? The president and the government. Forgive me, but we have a single state authority. There is not even a clear delimitation of powers, because everybody is in charge of everything. The state needs a constitution as a stability factor, as the start of real transformations that will place us alongside the developed countries, as we can see from the Baltic countries' example, or Poland's example.

[Correspondent] Leonid Danylovych, I think the main lesson of the first round of the Russian election is that the Russian electorate, which is very close to the Ukrainian one, backed General Aleksandr Lebed and Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov. That is a fact. Those speculating about the draft constitution warn us about a division in society. I think, the Ukrainian people, like the Russians, will support above all a strong authority who will not hesitate and wonder whether this is Ukraine or not.

Do you feel, as a Ukrainian president, that after the first round of the Russian election we need to fight not about the legal intricacies of the draft constitution, but for the opportunity to establish a system of power in Ukraine, whereby all regional authorities and every power structure will be arranged vertically?

[Kuchma] You answered your own question. The Russians voted for Lebed because they got tired of babble. Lebed said: All will be well as soon as I come to power. Yavlinskiy, too, looks good on the television screen, says fine things. But listen to him and you will never know what he will do afterwards. The same goes for others.

I have absolutely no doubt that Ukraine needs a strong executive authority — not only Ukraine, but all countries with an economy in transition — because when we talk about parliamentarism, we also need to look at it from a different angle. It is currently one of the main controversies in the world. The developed countries do not even know how to get out of this predicament, because parliaments often do not add anything positive, but, on the contrary, make things worse. We can see it in the United States, where there is a constant controversy between the executive branch and the legislature — and we keep talking about what a wonderful example it is.

But, during the discussion of the constitutional draft, I gave up many positions on the executive authority, for the single purpose of getting the constitution approved in parliament. I realize that a referendum is no good for Ukraine, because there are forces who will use the referendum not for the benefit of the people, but for the benefit of their own narrow party interests. I just thought today if we could hold an experiment and let them take the wheel for a while, I dread to think what would happen. In order to run the state, you need to rely on forces that have the intellect and ability to govern the country.

[Correspondent] Leonid Danylovych, when you talked about Ukrainian Communists' links with various other communist parties, you probably meant not only the moral support Ukrainian Communists receive from Russia but also another kind of support. It is that financial support that they expect to receive if Zyuganov wins the election. What steps will the Ukrainian Government take if it comes to light that the Communist Party or any other party receives money from abroad and that its activities run counter to Ukraine's national interests?

[Kuchma] I have no grounds for claiming that this is true. But since Zyuganov promised to visit Kiev the first thing after his election, I think we will work something out with him. I am joking, of course. We all will have to act by the Ukrainian constitution, which envisages measures against unconstitutional activities. These are the criteria by which power should be used.

[Correspondent] Regarding cooperation between local self-government and the state administration, I think there is a great deal of inconsistency in this field, even in the draft constitution. The practice until now was that whoever is elected as the mayor is appointed the head of the administration. God gave Eve to Adam and said, here is your wife, Adam, choose. How do you think this will be resolved in the new constitution?

[Kuchma] We all should adhere to the international charter of local self-government, which envisages that a city mayor should be popularly elected, and should not be appointed by anyone. This is the way it is being done. The exceptions will be the Ukrainian capital Kiev and Sevastopol.

But I do not want to make predictions as to what will happen, because there should be a separate law on Kiev and Sevastopol. I am confident that Kiev should have special status. Its mayor should be elected by Kiev's entire population. But there should be other checks and balances to make him understand that he does not come from a foreign state.

[Correspondent] I would like to return to the referendum issue. You smiled ironically at the mention of the independent press. I travel around Ukraine and see that in many regions local papers, incidentally funded by the state budget, are waging an open antistate campaign against the constitution and against the course of the constitutional process, which, although slowly, is advancing. Given that, if the Supreme Council fails to overcome internal differences and approve the constitution, and there is a referendum, how do you, as a president and a politician, forecast its results? What if people, influenced by the campaign in the local press and radio broadcasts from the parliament, do not even turn up to vote, then what?

[Kuchma] I smiled not because I felt like it, but because it is true and very unfortunately so that most publications are still dependent on this or that political force and, very unfortunately, are sometimes used against all ethical standards. That is true in the regions as well. I often get to see regional papers, which I do not read because they are impossible to read. Some articles are antistate, very many are antipresidential. Those who have read such specimens of the independent press as the Socialist Party's TOVARYSH or the Communist Party's KOMUNIST, know that there is so much filth thrown at the president that it is humanly impossible to understand.

But all of that is a feature of the transitional period, something we have to go through. You have to see it this way. God forbid us to do what our neighbors in Belarus are doing. As a president, I will repeat that I cannot allow anything like that to happen, whether I like it or not. However, if somebody really goes over the limit, measures have to be taken.

I believe that Ukrainian people will definitely come to vote in the referendum. Even Russia's experience convinces me of that. Tell me, what would happen if Russia had no constitution? A constitution means stability. Everybody understands that at least most of them have to play by the rules that the constitution sets out. People should become accustomed to the fact that there will be no other rules. The majority of Russians understand that if anything goes wrong, power will be used. In Ukraine, it is an act of extreme importance, because it is somehow the beginning of the country's stability. As I said at the start, it is the confirmation of our independence, but it is also the beginning of stability, because then every power structure will again understand that it has no other functions than the ones set out. The legislature makes the laws of society's development, the executive implements these laws, and the judiciary sees that they are adhered to and prevents their violation. This is the beginning of real stability, and our people, I think, understand it, because everybody is tired of arguing in the upper circles of power. They are tired of it. No matter how people live these days — as I see when I travel to the regions, both the pensioner whom we have driven beyond the poverty line and the student whom we have not paid his grants for several months, even they are telling me, Mr. President, it is time to adopt the constitution. I just hope that our legislators finally get the message.

[Correspondent] Leonid Danylovych, I do not know whether you can answer this question now. You mentioned two drafts, the one prepared by the constitutional commission, and the one currently debated in parliament. If it comes to a referendum, which draft are you inclined to recommend to the voters?

[Kuchma] It is no secret that Supreme Council deputies are already collecting signatures under a petition to the president for a referendum on the draft that was approved by the parliament in the first reading, finalized by the Supreme Council's ad-hoc commission, and agreed with the president. In fact, yesterday we met for the second time and agreed to hold a final meeting on 24 June to examine the president's proposals and comments on the draft constitution passed in the first reading. You know, these are the questions of bases, city districts, and a bit on the prosecutor general. But there are no essential matters of difference there. There is a question on the budget. Today, the latest version says that the budget deficit is covered solely by government securities and foreign assistance, but we are in such a poor state that without emissions it would be difficult to cope. It is not a matter for the constitution. You cannot cram all of our best laws into the constitution, as some deputies would like to. Suppose deputies from Transcarpathia, which has a large Hungarian community, like the law on ethnic minorities and refuse to vote until its main provisions are included into the constitution. This is nonsense. On 24 June, we will review the situation for the last time and take a final decision.

If the majority of deputies agree, this draft will be put to a referendum. If not, the president is entitled to additional considerations, because the constitutional commission's version also found support in the Supreme Council and was accepted as the basis for the ad-hoc commission. It contains some provisions that I do and will stand by. I stand by a bicameral parliament, because it would remove much of the controversy between legislative and executive authorities and allow many issues to be resolved at the legislative level. There is an upper chamber that acts as a kind of purgatory for the lower chamber. In this way, many legislative acts will escape a presidential veto, because cold reason would prevail over political passions that are running loose in our parliament today.

[Correspondent] Mr. President, you touched upon the subject of media independence. It may not be a priority issue, but I would like to ask about our place in the constitution and how it guarantees our rights. You are right, it is difficult to imagine the media to be independent these days because everybody is so dependent on the political hustle-and-bustle, and, most importantly, there is no economic independence, because of the absence of normal investment, normal domestic and foreign investment. But all this calls for constitutional guarantees. How does the draft constitution guarantee our constitutional rights?

[Kuchma] The constitution sets it out very clearly. But let me turn this around and say that in the past 70 years we acquired a habit of bypassing the laws and the constitution. What we need is procedures to ensure their implementation. The president indeed is obliged to act as a guarantor of press freedom. So let us make such meetings regular, not only on the subject of the constitutional process, because we have many more complicated problems ahead of us, many complex developments, of which people have no idea.

The more open we are to the people, the more safeguards we will have against more of such incidents, which unfortunately are not isolated.

[Correspondent] Leonid Danylovych, was it not the independent press who found out about the events in the Baltics, Georgia, and what is happening now in Belarus. What is happening there is a wall being built on our very borders, between us and the democratic world. Is it going to be another wall in Europe? One has already been dismantled.

[Kuchma] I think we have no right to let it happen. No right. You know, the other day I met a high-ranking official who had just made his first trip abroad, to Italy. I made my first trip abroad in 1989, in December, and he only did it this month. He returned wide-eyed, and said: Why are they feeding us all this baloney all this time, telling us that capitalism is rotting away?

We should be watchful of all the developments taking place. I am not saying this for the benefit of a fine phrase. God forbid a return to the past. God forbid, because we were not living in a state, we were somehow living in prison. Even I, who held quite a distinguished post, had my hands and feet tied. I had my way paved for me to follow, and I could only go forwards and backwards. Had I strayed, I would have wound up in a different place.

How can we persuade people that these are temporary hardships? Yes, we have made many mistakes, and we could have done a great deal to ease Ukraine's economic situation. But, I repeat, these are temporary hardships. Everybody has gone through them. If in 70 years we failed to build not only communism but even the socialism that was pictured in the books, tell me, could we achieve that much in five years? No, because at first we had to destroy everything before starting to build. For several years we did nothing, thinking that everything would sort itself out, that the market would regulate everything, and we would be rich. That is not so. The market requires hard work. No pains, no gains. Equality and equal rights are different things, just as communists and Bolsheviks. We have Bolsheviks who prefer destruction to creation and want to seize power by destruction. This is something we can never allow to happen. This is why we need a constitution.

[Correspondent] I think everyone will agree that our government, that is, our public administration, is very costly. The costliest is probably the Supreme Council, which absorbs trillions upon trillions of karbovantsi from the state budget. Recently, the executive authority set an example of a more efficient way to use budget funds, having cut its staff by 20 percent and introduced other reductions. Meanwhile, the future parliament is envisaged with 450 seats and a large staff for every deputy. Does it mean that with this constitution each deputy can reserve a constituency, a seat for himself, at the cost of extra budget expenditure?

[Kuchma] Indeed, the executive authority has made essential changes in its very structure, that of the government and on down to the lowest rank. You know that all government directorates have been disbanded, as well as half of all departments, and considerable cuts have been made in the cabinet itself. All sectoral departments have been resubordinated directly to deputy prime ministers. That is, we removed an excessive administrative link between the prime minister and the ministers. Today, the minister and the deputy prime minister in charge of the relevant industrial sector are responsible for the preparation, discussion, and approval of this or that decision at the cabinet meeting and for its implementation, which they are to control. As I said, this decision was long overdue. Now the entire executive staff has been reduced by 10,000 people.

I think this is a good example for the Supreme Council, which, during the current period, has inflated its staff — I will not tell you how much because the parliament itself should make these figures public. The cost of the secretariat staff and the overall expenses on the Supreme Council increased greatly. It is because they are their own kings. I mean that they are the ones who approve the budget. Nobody sets the limit. The Supreme Council as the body responsible for this is detached from these affairs, while its bureaucrats run the whole show. As for the number of deputies, I proposed 300. It was rejected. It is impossible to prevail over the Supreme Council on this. Just as on the deputy's immunity status — I think that is also nonsense — and my final comments recommended at least keeping the clause about the arrest of a deputy at the scene of crime — and even that was deleted. While it is possible to arrest any minister, any head of a regional state administration, or even the prime minister, a deputy is above all reach. He is the god and the king. I think it is wrong. Whether deputies like it or not, I told them so and will keep saying so. All should be equal before the constitution.

[Correspondent] Your closing remarks, Leonid Danylovych. We may be hoping against hope for a constitution, but still, we have five years of Ukraine's independence behind us. It is a great anniversary. With or without a constitution, we shall mark it together with President Leonid Kuchma.

[Kuchma] Thank you. Indeed, I agree that we shall mark the fifth anniversary, with or without a constitution, and it is a great occasion, our great achievement, confirming the image of Ukraine and its people, who will progress in a democratic way toward the goal we have set ourselves and which I am confident we shall achieve.

A safeguard of that will be the constitution that, I am confident, will be adopted, and I urge all of you, esteemed members of the press and all people, to support the constitutional process and the constitution that will be put to a referendum. Because its preamble says: We, the Ukrainian people, support this constitution. Or maybe this will inspire our deputies to approve the constitution. That would be a better solution.

I would also like to assure you that the president and the government will be taking radical decisions to improve the situation in Ukraine. I have every reason for saying so because we have an efficient government emerging, one which wants to and does assume responsibility. This is also a good sign. I wish everybody happiness, health, well-being, and, mainly, faith. Faith in the future of our state. And we have that future, I am confident of that. Thank you all.

Ukraine: Poll Shows Support for Belarus-Russia Treaty

*WS2506081096 Kiev INTELNEWS in English
0045 GMT 25 Jun 96*

[Natalya Petyakh report]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, June 23 — Most Ukrainians who have heard of the union treaty between Belarus and Russia in April say they support it, according to a recently released poll by Socis-Gallup.

According to the poll, 17 percent heard nothing about this treaty, 48 percent support it and 19 percent gave a negative response. Support was strongest among ethnic Russians, who gave the treaty a 68 percent approval rating, as opposed to Ukrainians, 42 percent of whom gave a positive response.

Regional differences are also noteworthy. In the north, east and Crimea, areas with large ethnic Russian populations, the treaty was approved by 78 percent, while only 8 percent support it in the more nationalist west.

Every third respondent believes that the treaty signing will influence the internal situation in Ukraine. According to them, the treaty will contribute to further confrontation between these politicians who stand for Ukraine's independence and these, who call for restoration of the Soviet Union.

A total of 13 percent of the respondents foresee deterioration of Ukrainian-Belarusan relations, while 30 percent do not think that treaty signed in Moscow will at all influence relations between Minsk and Kiev.

National Affairs

Ukraine: Parliament Adopts Constitutional Articles

*LD2406173496 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
1535 GMT 24 Jun 96*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — During voting on the section "General Provisions" of the Constitution, the deputies adopted Article 17 without the provision on the unacceptability of deploying foreign military bases on Ukrainian territory.

Articles 14, 15, 16, 18, and 19 have been approved by a constitutional majority of votes.

Article 14 says: "Land is the main national asset and is under a state's special protection."

Article 15 says: "Social life in Ukraine is based on the principles of political, economic, and ideological pluralism. No ideology can be recognized by the state as obligatory. Censorship is banned. The state guarantees the freedom of political activities if they are not banned by the Constitution and laws of Ukraine."

Article 16 says: "The state must ensure ecological safety and support environmental balance on the territory of Ukraine, clear the aftermath of the Chernobyl catastrophe, which is a catastrophe on a global scale, and preserve the genetic pool of Ukrainian people."

In article 17, all the provisions apart from "The creation and functioning in Ukraine of any armed formations, not envisaged by law, are banned" have been approved: "The protection of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Ukraine and the provision of its economic and data safety are the most important functions of the state and a matter for the whole Ukrainian nation. The defense of Ukraine, its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and inviolability is entrusted to the Armed Forces of Ukraine. The provision of state security and defense of the Ukrainian state borders are entrusted to respective military formations and law- enforcement bodies of the state, the organization and working procedures of which are defined by law.

The Ukrainian Armed Forces and other military formations cannot be used by anyone to restrict the rights and freedoms of citizens or to bring down a constitutional regime, to remove the bodies of power, or to hinder their work. The state guarantees social protection of Ukrainian citizens serving in the Ukrainian Armed Forces and other military formations and the members of their families."

Article 18 says: "The foreign political activity of Ukraine is directed at promoting its national interests and security by supporting peaceful and mutually beneficial cooperation with members of the international community, on the basis of the generally accepted principles and norms of the international law."

Article 19 says: "The legal order in Ukraine is based on the principles guaranteeing that nobody can be forced to do what is not envisaged by law. The bodies of state power and local government and their officials must act only on the basis, within the limits, and using the methods envisaged by the Ukrainian Constitution and laws."

The rules envisage that if at least one part of an article of the draft Constitution has been approved by a constitutional majority of votes, the article as a whole is not taken off the agenda but is rescheduled for the second or third reading. Therefore, Article 17 concerning the defense of Ukraine can be discussed again after a temporary special commission has carried out additional work on it.

According to a UNIAN correspondent, the parliament continues to discuss the constitution article by article in the section "Rights, freedoms, and duties of a person and a citizen." However, there are only 285 deputies currently present at the sitting, while 301 votes at least are needed to pass an article of the draft constitution.

Ukraine: Opinions on Adoption of New Constitution

LD2406191696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1604 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, June 24 (Interfax - Ukraine) — Speaking in interview with an "IF-U" correspondent today, Ukrainian Popular Rukh leader Vyacheslav Chornovil expressed the opinion that President Leonid Kuchma would sign one of these days a decree submitting the draft new Constitution to a national referendum.

V. Chornovil believes that signatures in support of the referendum will be collected by that time.

Commenting on the examination of the draft new Fundamental Law in second reading, MP Oleksandr Yemets, Ukrainian Vice Premier for legal issues and member of the deputy group "Reforms", described it as "marking time".

Although the Parliament gives "a false impression" of working hard, the constitutional majority support only "unprincipled" terms of the draft law, the Vice Premier stressed. Yet, in voting on "principal provisions", the left-wing deputy groups and factions vote against them, O. Yemets said.

In his view, "the President will decide by Wednesday" on speeding up the constitutional process. "Otherwise, the Constitution will not be adopted this year", O. Yemets underscored.

Belarus

Belarus: Minsk 20 Jun Press Reaction to Russian Elections

WS2506081396

[FBIS Report] Minsk BELORUSSKAYA DELOVAYA GAZETA, a Russian-language paper, on 20 June comments on the first round of the Russian presidential elections.

Alyaksandr Fyaduta, in a 1,000-word article on page 5 titled "Waiting for Robin Hood," compares Yelstin's victory in the first round of elections with "Leonid Kravchuk's thin triumph over Leonid Kuchma or Lech Walesa's victory over Aleksander Kwasniewski."

The author writes that Zyuganov's voters "voted not for a specific individual, but for their nostalgia for and dreams" of guaranteed social benefits and "equality based on the 'no-rich-people' principle." In Fyaduta's opinion, "democrats have already lost" the presidential elections, because they entrusted an ordinary individual with "making a choice," a task which the ordinary people cannot cope with. Fyaduta calls General Lebed a "reactionary radical" who "instilled hope" in the people "without making any commitments." In his opinion, Lebed symbolizes the "iron hand: "He is a serviceman, he does not speak a lot; he has a command voice; in addition, he is a combat general." The author assures that the voters did not vote for Lebed's "liberal economic program," but voted for an "avenger, for Robin Hood." Forecasting the outcome of the second round, A. Fyaduta stresses that "two-thirds of Lebed's voters" will vote for Zyuganov, but if Zyuganov wins, he will not be able to remove Lebed. A. Fyaduta predicts that if Yeltsin wins, this will be either a "miracle" or an outcome of "falsified" election results. Hence, he proposes that the Yelstin's team "frustrate the elections," because this is the only thing left for them.

Yuras Karmanaw's report titled "Belarusian Politicians Comment on Russian Elections" on page 5 features comment by several leading Belarusian politicians on the incomplete results of the Russian presidential elections.

Former Belarusian National Bank Chairman Stanislaw Bahdankevich, chairman of the Belarusian United Civic Party: "Prognoses have proved to be correct. Yeltsin is ahead, while the communists trail him. I believe that Yeltsin will have the opportunity to celebrate his victory after the second round. I think that this option will not be the worst thing for Belarus."

Vasil Novikaw, secretary of the Central Committee of the Belarusian Communist Party: "I cannot put everything I want in two words. I assess the results of the elections as normal. The people have expressed their opinion. This is the most important issue."

Myachaslaw Hiruts, leader of the Belarusian Agrarian Party faction in the Belarusian Supreme Soviet: "The elections showed the genuine distribution of political forces in Russia. I think that Yeltsin can count on his victory in the second round, although, in my opinion, sovereign Belarus can expect to have good relations with our neighbor irrespective of who — Yeltsin or Zyuganov — wins."

Leanid Sechko, leader of the "Labor Union" faction in the Belarusian Supreme Soviet: "Our prognoses have proved to be correct. We are satisfied with the results of the first round of presidential elections. Yeltsin's team will have to face severe trials. But Boris Nikolayevich can count on his victory in the second round. I would like this to take place. I believe that Yeltsin's victory is a better option for Belarus than Zyuganov's victory, because it was precisely Yeltsin who signed a 'zero option' agreement with Belarus [annulling all Belarus's debts to Russia] and all primary Belarusian-Russian agreements were signed during his term in office."

Belarusian Supreme Soviet Chairman Syamyon Sharetski: "The results of the Russian elections are Russia's issue. I would not like to comment in any way because I think it is unethical. An individual does not change the essence of the issue. The Belarusian-Russian agreement will be fulfilled regardless of the outcome of the Russian presidential elections. Integration of Russia and Belarus is not only someone's will, it is an objective necessity."

Yuras Karmanaw concludes his report with a postscripture note: "When BELORUSSKAYA DELOVAYA [illegible]AZETA attempted to learn the reaction of the Belarusian Presidential Office to the issue, all it received was an eloquent silence...."

Belarus: Lukashenka-Yeltsin 22 Jun News Conference

WS2506093296 Minsk BTK Television Network in Belarusian 1800 GMT 22 Jun 96

[News conference by Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka in Brest on 22 June — recorded; in Russian]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Lukashenka] I think that we are ready to answer your questions without making any [opening] statements.

[Unidentified moderator] In this regard, please ask one question from the Belarusian and Russian sides in turn. Who is first? Russia's "Vremya".

[Unidentified reported] How do you assess the course of the integration between Russia and Belarus, particularly in the economy? [sentence indistinct]

[Yeltsin] The first meeting of the Supreme Council [of the Belarusian-Russian Community] has been held today. Therefore, it would be tactful for me to give the floor to Alyaksandr Ryhoravich as the Supreme Council chairman. He will speak about the issues which we resolved today, and this would actually answer your question.

[Lukashenka] Thank you, Boris Nikolayevich. If the author of this question does not object, I can answer this question very briefly because we do not want to protract this news conference, trouble you, and divert your attention. Comrades, as you know, we have already made a number of decisions aimed at making our Community serve... [changes thought] Because people are saying that it is a new creation, and they are joking that this community will make decisions, but it will not implement them. However, we have already implemented a number of agreements, and our Executive Committee — our joint government, as I we call it — has made a number of decision on education. Our young Belarusian and Russian citizens no longer have to search their pockets and think how they can pay for something. Both in our country and the Russian Federation, young people will go to higher educational institutions without any fear. We are granting them equal rights. We have already granted them equal rights concerning health care as well.

As for today's meeting of the Supreme Council, we discussed six issues, and unanimously decided to implement all of them. These issues concern our citizens' employment and social guarantees. As you understand, they are receiving equal rights. We discussed issues concerning a customs union and a Customs Committee. Today we appointed Comrade Kruglov the chairman of the common Customs Committee of the Belarusian-Russian Community. He was commissioned to draft a resolution on the Customs Committee within a month. This is the most important decision. Today we also decided to support our veterans and invalids of the Great Patriotic War, heroes of the Soviet Union, and holders of three orders of glory, and granted them equal rights to free treatment in spas and one free trip in Belarus and Russia annually. Our Russian and Belarusian citizens should indeed be able to travel freely to the graves of their friends or to visit them at least once a year. We also made a number of decisions concerning labor and granted equal rights, and commissioned... [changes thought] proposed that the Parliamentary Assembly unifies legislation in this area.

To put it briefly, all issues which we discussed today and all decisions which we made are oriented toward our people. I think that we will give you... here is the chief of the Russian president's press group. We will give you these six issues, and you will become familiar with them. I will ask you to unseal these issues for the press, please.

[Moderator] [Sentence indistinct]

[Unidentified reporter] Nabolshenko, ZNAMYA YUNOSTI. Boris Nikolayevich, what do you think should be the ideal in relations between Russia and the Republic of Belarus, particularly in the military sphere?

[Yeltsin] What?

[Lukashenka] The beginning of the question was not understood.

[Nabolshenko] What do you think should be the ideal in relations between Russia and the Republic of Belarus?

[Yeltsin] What kind of relations?

[Nabolshenko] Ideal.

[Yeltsin] Ideal? I think that we... [changes thought] At the level of the current integration, or at least at the level of integration which should develop... This integration will develop. Can you imagine, we recently said: Dear Belarusians, we will participate in integration of Belarusian joint ventures. We will participate in their establishment, and so on. Although we expected to receive applications from five or six enterprises, we have received applications from 23 enterprises worth 3 trillion rubles.

[Lukashenka] Joint ventures.

[Yeltsin] What?

[Lukashenka] Joint ventures.

[Yeltsin] Yes, joint ventures. That is, you should understand this integration has a great future. I would not like to guess how it will look organizationally in three or five years. But let us develop the form of integration which we feel will succeed and which everybody understands, which all people understand. The Supreme Council and the Executive Committee began their work with issues directly connected with people, which is very important. And people should understand this. Understanding the essence of your question, but not answering it, I think that... [changes thought] What is the final goal of this integration? We will see how it develops.

[Lukashenka] [Laughs] No, I do not want to add anything. The last sentence was put in a very correct manner. We will see how it develops. If it develops well, we will continue it.

[Moderator] The last question. Grishchenko.

[Grishchenko] Thank you. Grishchenko, INTERFAX. I have a question to both presidents. Boris Nikolayevich and Alyaksandr Ryhoravich, as far as we know, you agreed to coordinate the course of economic reforms. Generally, this is certainly the most difficult thing. This requires certain mechanism. How are you going to achieve this?

[Yeltsin] No, we agreed to include this issue in the agenda of the Supreme Council. But we have not yet discussed it. After we discuss it, we will answer your question: what we have decided, and how Belarus and Russia should coordinate their reforms. However, the question itself is very important because if we proceed with reforms at different speeds, we will have no integration. We should have one pace; we should select one pace. There are currently different speeds, and we should synchronize them. When we synchronize them, gain one pace, and conduct reforms at one pace, then the path of reforms itself will become important. Then you will ask us, and we will answer you.

[Lukashenka] Comrade Grishchenko, I would like to say that I cannot see any questions here. The concealed meaning of your question is that somebody is apparently lagging behind someone, in terms of reforms. This is not the point. I will tell you that in Belarus I always give priority to reforming our economy together with our partners from the Russian Federation. However, I regret that the Russian press pays little attention to our joint experience. Take such large enterprises as the Navapolatsk and Mazyr oil refining plants. They have already been transformed into shareholding stock companies. Do the Russian know about this? No. Have enterprises of the Belarusian chemical industry been recently transformed into shareholding companies? All of them have been transformed into shareholding companies, along with Russian companies. Negotiations are currently underway with Yaroslavl Province on the Minsk Auto Plant and the Minsk Tractor Plant. In this area, there are no questions. That is, we have rejected across-the-board reform, privatization, and shareholding, and have focused our attention on specific things. If there is a company in which our brothers are interested, we give them priority. Do not worry, I think there will be no problems in this area. There will be the synchronization about which the Russian Federation president spoke. Thank you very much.

[Yeltsin] Thank you.

[Lukashenka] Thank you very much.

Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan: Nazarbayev Meets UN Secretary General in Geneva

LD2406194396 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1752 GMT 24 Jun 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstantin Pribytkov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Geneva, 24 Jun — President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev has confirmed that his republic supports integration within the CIS and the enhancement of the role of the Commonwealth as a regional organization. He said this at a meeting with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, which was held in Geneva today.

The head of the Kazakhstan state arrived at the European branch of the United Nations from the Swiss town of Crans Montana where the international forum devoted to cooperation between East and West ended on Sunday. The Kazakhstan president informed Butrus-Ghali about Kazakhstan's progress along the path of market reforms and democratic transformations. Incidentally, he said that Almaty regarded the expansion of mutually beneficial and equal ties with its CIS neighbors, including Russia, its "strategic partner," as one of its priority tasks. Nursultan Nazarbayev also spoke about the customs union between Kazakhstan, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia, which is regarded as an important step on the path toward integration.

Butrus-Ghali also confirmed that the United Nations was interested in expanding cooperation with Kazakhstan and the CIS as a regional organization.

Nursultan Nazarbayev reported that his country, which has observer status at the Conference on Disarmament, advocates that the talks, which are now under way in Geneva, on the comprehensive ban of nuclear tests should be concluded.

In reply to journalists' questions, he stated his support for Butrus-Ghali's work in the post of UN secretary general and pointed out that "the UN General Assembly and not the Security Council elects the secretary general."

Kazakhstan: Nazarbayev for Butrus-Ghali's Reelection as UN Leader

LD2506100096 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0858 GMT 25 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GENEVA, June 25 (Interfax) — Kazakhstan will support the re-election of Butrus Butrus-Ghali as U.N. secretary-general. It urges other Commonwealth member-states to do the same, President of Kazakhstan Nursultan Nazarbayev told a news conference in Geneva Monday.

He described as "non-constructive" the stand of the U.S. administration, which has announced its intention to veto the re-election of Butrus-Ghali at the U.N. Security Council.

"I think the U.N. General Assembly should decide who will become the U.N. secretary-general," said Nazarbayev.

The president said he knows about the plans of two other permanent members of the U.N. Security Council, Russia and China, who can block any candidate for the post proposed by the United States if the U.S. threat is carried out.

"I do not think the use of sanctions and the right of veto helps cooperation and peace on the planet," said the president.

Butrus-Ghali, 73 and Egyptian by nationality, announced his intention to run for re-election last week. His current five-year mandate is due to expire on December 31, 1996.

Before that date the U.N. Security Council, which unites representatives of 15 countries, is to vote on a new U.N. secretary-general and propose its candidate to the U.N. General Assembly for approval.

News agencies have reported the support for Butrus-Ghali voiced by a summit of the League of Arab Countries in Cairo last Sunday.

Kazakhstan: Uranium Resources Put Country Among 'World Leaders'

MM2406141096 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jun 96 p 3

[Report by Anatoliy Ladin: "Kazakhstan Conquers World Uranium Market"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Almaty — According to Viktor Yazikov, president of the "KATEP" national Joint-Stock Company, Kazakhstan is going to be one of the world leaders determining policy in the production of nuclear material. The republic owns around 25 percent of the world's prospected uranium stocks and produces 85 percent of the fuel rod pellets for nuclear reactors in the former CEMA countries and Finland. The country also produces cheap ecological uranium for export, with a quality exceeding world standards.

Given that world market requirements for it will increase, KATEP has been able to obtain long-term loans from foreign partners in return for guarantees. This will enable it to raise over $60 million. Russia and Kazakhstan have concluded intergovernmental agreements on matters pertaining to the production and safe transportation of nuclear materials and dual-use products.

Kyrgyzstan

Kyrgyzstan: Kyrgyz President: Russia Our Main Strategic Partner

LD2206221196 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1504 GMT 22 Jun 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Konstanting Pribytkov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Crans-Montana (Switzerland), 22 Jun — Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev today spoke of his republic's interest in the continuing democratic and economic reforms in Russia. Akayev is attending an international forum in the Swiss town of Crans-Montana. "We would like the democratic forces to get the upper hand in Russia," he told a plenary session.

Russia is the "main strategic partner of Kyrgyzstan," Akayev underlined in an interview with ITAR-TASS. The four-side customs union agreement recently signed by Kyrgyzstan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia will make it possible to expand mutually beneficial cooperation, Akayev said. "This union is very advantageous for our further economic development. We joined it with interest and I firmly believe this is the only right way," he said.

Stability reached in Kyrgyzstan, inter alia thanks to a balanced ethnic policy, was shown in Crans-Montana as one of the attractive factors for foreign investments. Not only members of the republic's delegation, but also Western businesspeople told the forum that cooperation with Kyrgyzstan is beneficial and secure.

Kyrgyzstan: Prime Minister Expresses Interest in Economic Union

LD2406185696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1540 GMT 24 Jun 96

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Anna Kovaleva, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kyrgyzstan's Prime Minister Apas Dzhumagulov told Kazakhstan's First Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the Integration Council Nyghmetzhan Yesengharin in Bishkek Monday that Kyrgyzstan is interested in the earliest possible creation of an economic union by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Belarus and Russia.

He said Kyrgyzstan has a big stake in simplifying customs procedures for intensifying trade and economic cooperation between the four countries, and in the fastest possible movement of commodities on the domestic and neighboring markets.

He expressed hope that the conference of the Kazakhstan and Kyrgyz customs services to be held in Dzhambul June 26 will be a success.

The two sides discussed the problems which are to be debated by the Integration Council at the end of June.

They expressed hope that this working agency will start "efficient work" at the end of 1996.

Kyrgyzstan: Dzhumagulov: Turkey, Kyrgyzstan To Increase Cooperation

LD2006205696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1712 GMT 20 Jun 96

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Prime Minister Apas Dzhumagulov hopes that Kyrgyz-Turkish relations will be more productive, especially in trade. He told a news conference on his working visit to Turkey on June 13-18 that an understanding had been reached with Turkish President Suleyman Demirel about stepping up cooperation. Numerous cooperation agreements have been signed over five years, but some of them do not work, Dzhumagulov said.

In particular, as little as $39 million of the $75 million trade credit have been used, he said. The remaining $36 million will be invested in hydraulic power stations under a separate contract, Dzhumagulov explained.

Small firms have been doing most of the cooperation, he said. Dzhumagulov succeeded in securing cooperation of large Turkish companies, in particular Yasarholding, a large food company which intends to build meat and milk processing plants in Kyrgyzstan.

If just one half of the intentions expressed by the two sides during the trip materializes, the Kyrgyz economy will flourish, Dzhumagulov said. Numerous Kyrgyz businesses will find it hard to overcome the crisis without outside investments, in particular Turkish, he said.

Tajikistan

Tajikistan: Tajik Rebels Said Preparing Breakthrough From Afghanistan

LD2406164696 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1604 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, June 24 (Interfax) — A significant number of armed Tajik opposition militants is currently concentrating on Afghan territory near the border with Tajikistan in order to break through into Tajik territory, reads a statement issued by the

Russian Federal Border Guard Service and received by Interfax on Monday.

With the connivance of the local Afghan authorities, Tajik militants are gathering in several directions in front of the areas controlled by the Moscow, Kalaykhum and Khorog border regiments, the statement reads.

The order to prepare for a breakthrough has been given by the Movement of Tajikistan's Islamic Revival, the statement says. Militants in the Pamir Mountains have been ordered to ensure a free movement of groups of armed opposition militants to the Garm-Tavil-Dara region of Tajikistan. Tajik opposition militants have been ordered to engage themselves in combat actions with Russian border guards if they interfere into the situation.

The Russian Federal Border Guards Service said to this effect that "all attempts by armed militants to break through the border will be decisively put down with the use of all military means available," the statement reads.

Russian border guards prevented 46 attempts by armed gunmen to break through the Tajik-Afghan border this year, said the Russian Federal Border Guard Service.

Russian border guards in Tajikistan were fired upon more than 100 times in 1996, including 91 times from Afghan territory.

Russian border guards have seized from Tajik militants a large quantity of arms and ammunition, a rocket launcher and some 1.1 tonnes of drugs.

Tajikistan: Dushanbe Supports Peaceful Settlement of Inter-Tajik Crisis

LD2506093396 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
0916 GMT 25 Jun 96

[By Galina Gridneva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, June 25 (Itar-Tass) — Zafar Saidov, Press Secretary of Tajikistan's President, denied accusations of leaders of the Tajik opposition that the government forces had stepped up offensive operations in the Tavildara district near the Pamirs.

The Press Secretary told Itar-Tass in a telephone conversation on Tuesday that the situation in the area remained unchanged and actions of units of government force had a "retaliatory and preventive character".

With a reference to military sources Saidov denied a report of the press centre of the joint opposition that 21 servicemen of the Tajik Defence Ministry were killed during recent clashes on the approaches to Tavildara. The Press Secretary admitted, however, that eleven servicemen of Tajikistan's Security Ministry and Defence Ministry had been wounded during "local clashes" in the past week.

Describing the situation in other eastern districts of Tajikistan, specifically in Garm and Komsomolabad districts some 100 kilometres east of Dushanbe, the Press Secretary said that the situation was complicated but was under the governmental forces control. Assertions of leaders of the opposition that most of the populated localities of the region are under its control "are not in keeping with reality", Saidov said.

The Tajikistan government invariably declares for a peaceful settlement of the inter-Tajik crisis, the presidential press secretary said. The actions of government forces are aimed at preventing the advance of opposition units deeper into eastern districts of Tajikistan and from setting up a bridgehead there in the runup to the negotiations. The opposition wants this in order to be able to dictate its terms to the Tajikistan government, the Press Secretary said.

The presidential Press Secretary takes a positive view of the resumption of the activity of the joint commission monitoring the Teheran agreement on ceasefire in Tajikistan. He said representatives of the opposition are to arrive in Dushanbe on June 26.

The consistency of the course of the Tajikistan government is shown by the fact that Tajikistan's President declared more than once for the meeting with leader of joint Tajik opposition Said Abdullo Nuri. During such a meeting it would be possible to sign an agreement on a termless ceasefire on the Tajik-Afghan border and within the country for the entire period of a peace settlement of the inter-Tajik process, Dushanbe officials believe.

Tajikistan: Rakhmanov Prepared To Sign Agreement With Opposition

LD2106174596 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1539 GMT 21 Jun 96

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Emomali Rakhmanov has confirmed he is prepared to meet with opposition leader Sayid Abdullo Nuri in order to sign a full and comprehensive agreement without preconditions.

The signing could take place in Moscow or any other city, he told Yevgeniy Mikhaylov, Russian president's envoy.

Rakhmanov confirmed that the country's leaders want to resolve all problems in and around Tajikistan through negotiations.

Rakhmanov's press secretary Zafar Sayidov said that the Rakhmanov-Mikhaylov meeting was held in the framework of "traditional political consultations held between sovereign sister countries for years."

The two men discussed the forthcoming round of talks between the Tajik government and opposition in Ashgabat, Sayidov said. Sayidov expressed his administration's interest in early resumption and success of the talks for the sake of peace and accord in the long-suffering Tajikistan, he said.

(Rakhmanov had earlier expressed his hope that the talks would resume early in July).

Sayidov described the conversation as "detailed, very frank and friendly."

The two men also discussed the outlook for bilateral cooperation, especially in the economic field and the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and in the region, Sayidov said. They were pleased that the U.N. leadership appreciated, as follows from a statement by the Security Council chairman of May 21, the Tajik government's decision to extend the ceasefire agreement of September 17, 1994 for the duration of the talks with the opposition.

Tajikistan: Armed Disturbances Reported in Dushanbe

LD2106153796 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0300 GMT 21 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Details of the attack on a government checkpoint in the Romit valley 35 km east of Dushanbe have been clarified. Radio Voice of Free Tajikistan, quoting a source in the regime's Ministry of Internal Affairs, reported yesterday on this incident, the nature of which was unclear. It has now been established that eight servicemen were killed as a result of the attack. Government sources have also confirmed a report that one of the post's attackers was killed. The government post, which came under attack by armed people, is near the village of Lijjak in Kofarnikhon District.

The continuation of clashes between the government and the opposition in mountainous areas has led to armed disturbances in and around the republic's capital. Official bodies of Tajikistan have also admitted this fact. In this regard, armed people fired at a vehicle of the regime's Defense Ministry in the capital two days ago.

Tajikistan: Approximately 3,000 Refugees Flee Tavil-Dara

LD2406154596 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 1000 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The population of the center of Darvoz district, Kalai-Khumb settlement and the surrounding area has nearly doubled during the last week. About 3,000 people, mainly women, children, and old people, have arrived here from the mountainous village of Saghirdasht and a number of villages of Tavil-Dara. Because of [word indistinct] armed conflicts between the militants and the government troops, these people have been forced to leave their homes and native villages in order to save their children's lives.

The Darvoz district authorities have been making efforts to receive and resettle the refugees. A special column of UN vehicles is also being prepared in Khorog. Food and other goods including domestic appliances will be supplied very soon to the forced migrants in Darvoz through this authoritative international organization.

Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan: President Condemns Bribery in Security Services

LD2106191196 Ashgabat Radio Ashgabat Network in Turkmen 1500 GMT 21 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] An expanded-format meeting of the State Council for Defense and National Security, chaired by Saparmurad Niyazov, the president of Turkmenistan and supreme commander of the country's Armed Forces, took place yesterday. The heads of the Defense Ministry, the National Security Committee, the Interior Ministry, the state department [word indistinct], the Prosecutor- General's Office, the Supreme Court, and the ministry of [word indistinct] took part the meeting.

In his speech to the council, the president of Turkmenistan noted certain achievements in the activity of the national army, the border troops, and the law-enforcement bodies. At the same time, the supreme commander paid great attention to the improper situation among the personnel of the country's Armed Forces and border troops, as well as in the police and the Prosecutor's Office.

The head of state required military commanders to take relevant measures to establish proper order among the personnel. Bad examples that occur among military personnel not only harm their military status, but also cause moral damage to the whole of society. Saparmurad Turkmenbashy cited several examples of bribery by military and national security servicemen and police personnel [words indistinct].

The president of Turkmenistan announced a decree on certain [words indistinct] crimes and responsibility for them at the meeting. He also announced changes in the composition of the State Council for Defense and National Security at the meeting. [passage omitted]

Turkmenistan: Railway Head Outlines New Proposed Link With Iran

LD2506111396 Ashgabat NEYTRALNYY TURKMENISTAN in Russian 17 Jun 96 p 1

["North-South—the Project of the Century"—NEYTRALNYY TURKMENISTAN headline]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Among the most important documents signed during the summit of ECO [Economic Cooperation Organization] member states in Ashgabat [held on 13 May] was a memorandum between Turkmenistan, Iran, and Kazakhstan on mutual assistance and cooperation to implement a project to build a rail link between Yeraliyev [Caspian coast settlement in southwest Kazakhstan], Turkmenbashy [formerly Krasnovodsk, northwest Turkmenistan], and Bandar-e Torkeman [northwest Iran].

Having put their signatures to the memorandum President Niyazov of Turkmenistan, President Rafsanjani of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and President Nursultan Nazarbayev of the Republic of Kazakhstan all expressed the readiness of their respective countries to work together to realize this North-South project, which forms one more link in the chain of the ancient silk road.

Our correspondent spoke to the head of Turkmenistan's state railway Khudayguly Khallykov about this new project of the century:

[NEYTRALNYY TURKMENISTAN] Khudayguly Khallykovich, what is the essence of the new memorandum and what is the main aim of building another railway as a second link to the south? [Turkmenistan's first rail link with Iran, the Mashhad-Serakhs railway, was opened on 13 May].

[Khallykov] President Niyazov's program for developing the railways in our independent and neutral state envisages building 2,010 km of new railroads, including sections from Yeraliyev to Turkmenbashy, Kazandzhik [southwest Turkmenistan], Kizyl-Atrek [on the Iranian border], the Iranian border, and on to the port of Bandar-e Torkeman [Iranian Caspian Sea port] in a north-south direction. [passage omitted: short and reliable new route for passenger and freight transport; provides link between Russia and Persian Gulf via Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan]

The signing of the memorandum has created new conditions to enable the North-South project to be realized and it has given new impetus its further development. The memorandum was signed in mid-May and by the end of May, the progress of work to prepare the technical-economic foundations of the project was already being reviewed in the capital of the Russian Federation. Specialists from Turkmenistan, from the Russian Federation Railways Ministry, from Rostranstroy [Russian transport building company], and from various planning institutes have decided to give the plans for the project's technical-economic base to independent experts to study and only then to continue. At the same time, under the provisions of the memorandum representatives of Turkmenistan, Russia, and Kazakhstan met in Moscow to plan further action to implement the project. In particular, the sides expressed the desire, once the technical and economic plans are in place, to set up a joint-stock company to build the railway with the participation of both domestic and foreign shareholders and investors. It is also necessary to determine exactly what role each side will play in the building work, including areas such as the supply of machinery and equipment.

[NEYTRALNYY TURKMENISTAN] Khudayguly Khallikovich, could you please give us some more details about the railway itself—what will the countries taking part in the project get out of it?

[Khallykov] It is anticipated that the link will be built in two sections. One will be from Yeraliyev to our town of Turkmenbashy. It will run for 442 km with 240 km passing through the territory of Turkmenistan. The second section from Kazandzik to Kizyl-Atrek and on up to the port of Bandar-e Torkeman will run for just over 300 km.

Once the link is up and running it will be possible to transport cargoes across a considerable distance from Astrakhan [southeast Russia] to Makat [southwest Kazakhstan], Beyneu [southwest Kazakhstan], Yeraliyev, Turkmenbashy, Kazandzhik, Kizyl-Atrek, Gorgan [northwest Iran], Bandar-e Torkeman, and further on to the ports of the Persian Gulf and the littoral countries of the Indian Ocean. The North-South link will cut the time it takes to transport freight in this direction by 24 hours. It will also reduce freight costs. These factors alone should enable the volume of freight along the route to increase considerably.

What is more, and this is a no less significant fact, the project will open a direct route for freight from European countries and Russia in a southern direction to the Persian Gulf and ports of Abadan [Khuzestan, southwest Iran] and Bandar-e Abbas [southern Iranian port].

The link will make it possible to get freight from India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan onto the railways in Turkmenistan and Iran. The North-South project managers think that the annual volume of goods travelling along this route could amount to 3.9 million tonnes of exports and 1.7 million tonnes of imports. Passenger traffic will also increase considerably. Experts believe that our railways will also be of great interest to the Transcaucasian states. It will give them access via the shortest possible route to the Persian Gulf and China. It will also give them quicker access to Kazakhstan and the northeast regions of Russia.

[NEYTRALNYY TURKMENISTAN] What particular role do railways play for Turkmenistan?

[Khallykov] The capacity of Turkmenistan's railway network is going to grow rapidly. Once this project of the century is up and running, our independent and neutral state will be the biggest railway crossroads in the region. The project will generate an annual revenue of $90.6 million and profits of $43.9 million for Turkmenistan. [passage omitted, on anticipated benefits of new railway to transport, communications and living standards]

According to the experts, the new railway will bring about a rapid improvement in local freight transport. The Turkmen national economy will benefit because the railway will facilitate the exploitation of new deposits of natural resources as well as the transport of raw minerals from storage, in particular the wealth of Kara-Bogaz-Gol [northwest Turkmenistan], and Kizyl-Kaya, and of building materials from Turkmenbashy, and so on. According to modest calculations, the level of local freight transport on the new railway will increase 1.5 or two-fold. It will also mean that remote settlements located along the railway line will be better supplied with the goods they need. [passage omitted, giving details on the experience gained from building the Mashhad-Sarakhs railway, on future cooperation with other countries in building railways]

Armenia

Armenia: Official Says Foreign Policy Hinges on Karabakh Issue

NC2306192596 Yerevan ARAGIL ELECTRONIC NEWS BULLETIN in English 1059 GMT 23 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan ("HAYASTANI HANRAPETUTYUN" daily), 06/18/96 — "If Azerbaijan accepts any serious changes in regard with its position regarding the problem of Lachin, then we can speak about progress" ROA [Republic of Armenia] Deputy Foreign Minister Vardan Oskanyan declared in an interview to the JAMANAK daily in Istanbul.

Oskanyan, who headed the delegation of ROA during the negotiations in Moscow, said there are no changes in Azerbaijan's position. Speaking about the positions of Armenia and Mountainous Karabakh in the negotiations Oskanyan said there are no serious differences, though there is some difference of approaches, which do not affect on the relations between Armenia and Mountainous Karabakh.

He said that the main theme of negotiations was Grand Political Agreement. Two important issues have been discussed so far, one of which is the security of Mountainous Karabakh. We also concerned the problem of Lachin, but it is very difficult to resolve. "I believe that the success of the current stage of negotiations strongly depends on the position of Azerbaijan in regard with the problem of Lachin", he said and added that "Lachin should stay under the control of Armenians until the political status of Karabakh is defined".

Speaking about the main directions of Armenia's foreign policy Vardan Oskanyan stressed that "Yerevan's foreign policy is based on the problem of Mountainous Karabakh, and depends on it". Armenian Deputy Foreign Minister believes that the solution of the conflict should be acceptable for all sides and not be enforced to anyone, so that peace and stability can be established in the region.

Armenia: Appointment of Russia's Lebed Not To Affect Defense Ties

NC2106182596 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1651 GMT 20 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan, June 20 (NOYAN TAPAN)— "Assessment and commentaries concerning Lieutenant-General Aleksandr Lebed's appointment Russian Security Council's Secretary and presidential advisor can be made after the second tour of presidential elections", Head of Armenian Defense Ministry's press service Seyran Shakhsuvaryan said.

As for further relations between Defense Ministries of Russia and Armenia he noted that they depended on the global policy of the state, and first of all its president, and it is difficult to say anything unless it is known who is the president of Russia. However, according to him, as long as Boris Yeltsin is in office General Lebed's appointment is not likely to cause any principal changes for Armenia.

As for the illegal recruitment of refugees Seyran Shakhsuvaryan stated that that process was under control of Major-General Artyusha Harutyunyan, Head of the Chief Mobilization Department. According to him, at present a list of 19 people is considered name by name.

Armenia: Russian Aircraft Allegedly Fired On by Armenian Forces

NC2406210296 Baku TURAN in English 1316 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tbilisi/24.06.96/TURAN—On June 18 , during the flight over the territory of Armenia, anti-air defence forces shelled the plane Su-27 belonging to the Russian military forces, located in Armenia, sources in the head-quarter of the Group of Russian Troops in the Transcaucasus report. The incident took place after the Russian plane was mistaken by the Armenian anti-air defence forces as a plane which had violated the borders of Armenia from the Iranian side.

Defence Minister of Armenia expressed a regret concerning the incident and dissatisfaction to the Russian side as the plane was making a flight without warning the Armenian side.

*Planes by the Russian military forces are located at the territory of Armenia according to the agreement obtained October 21, 1994 between the Defence Ministries of Russia and Armenia. The agreement allows Russia to keep in Armenia several air-squadrons of fighters and bomb-carriers Su-27, Su-25 and MiG-23 flying in any weather.

Azerbaijan

Azerbaijan: Varied Reaction to Russia's Appointment of Lebed Noted

NC2106185596 Baku TURAN in English 1437 GMT 21 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/21.06.96/TURAN—Reaction of Baku's circles on appointment of General Aleksandr Lebed on a key post in Kremlin is different.

Official circles avoid to speak about that in the mass media. However, in private conversations high-ranking persons say that Baku does not have reasons for fears.

Meanwhile, independent monitors believe that there is reason for fears. The right opposition of Azerbaijan shares the same opinion. Deputy chairman of Musavat [Equality] Party, Arif Hajiyev, told TURAN's correspondent that Aleksandr Lebed was the Commander of Soviet troops, which occupied Baku on January 19 to 20 at night in 1990. As is known, this action has been severe enough and has brought casualties among civilians.

Meanwhile, Arif Hajiyev said there is also positive moment in appointment of Alexander Lebed. "It will ensure victory to Yeltsin and it means continuation of the current course of Kremlin", deputy chairman of Musavat party believes.

"Azerbaijan should not lose vigilance and caution, but in this case one should come from the fact that appointment of Aleksandr Lebed is an internal affair of Russia", the chairman of party National Independence of Azerbaijan (PNIA), Etibar Mamedov, told TURAN's correspondent. As to his opinion one should not overestimate the role of Lebed in introduction of Soviet troops in Baku in January 1990. "He has fulfilled the orders of Primakov and others", Mamedov said.

As to opinion of the chairman of Social-Democratic Party of Azerbaijan (SDPA), Zardusht Alizade, Lebed's appointment will be useful for General himself, from the point of view of his political perspectives, as well as for Yeltsin.

"Before next elections Aleksandr Lebed can turn into the politician number one on Russian political Olympus. At the same time President Yeltsin always has the possibility to get rid of him in the necessary moment", Zardusht Alizade believes.

As to opinion of the chairman of SDPA, in the near future there can be the conflict between Lebed and Premier, Viktor Chernomyrdin. "If Lebed seriously deals with large-scale corruption and financial machinations, he will, most likely, collide with oil and gas concerns. In this case collision with Chernomyrdin will be inevitable", Alizade mentioned.

The chairman of SDPA did not exclude that after Lebed's coming in power, Moscow's foreign policy towards the Near Abroad will be toughened. "Kremlin has already exerted all forms of pressure on Azerbaijan and we have immunity", Alizade said.

The chairman of Azerbaijan's Communist party, Ramiz Ahmedov, also believes that one should not attach great importance to participation of Lebed in introduction of troops in Baku. "He has performed orders", the chairman of the Communist party noted.

Ramiz Ahmedov said alliance of Lebed with Yeltsin does not at all mean that electors, who voted for the General in the first tour, are sure to vote for the current master of the Kremlin in the second tour. "The electors voted for Lebed are dissatisfied with the current political course of Yeltsin", Ahmedov mentioned.

Azerbaijan: Party Leader Says Yeltsin-Lebed Cooperation Will Not Last

NC2206104696 Baku TURAN in English
1000 GMT 22 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/22.06.96/TURAN—Creation of alliance Yeltsin-Lebed is the sign of serious victory of Russia's Presidential team, the head of Musavat party, Isa Gambar, told TURAN's correspondent. Creation of this alliance will actually ensure victory to Yeltsin at the second tour of Presidential elections, Gambar believes. Yeltsin will give up power by no means and Zyuganov's coming to power is absolutely excluded, the head of Musavat party says.

However, Gambar is sure that cooperation between Yeltsin and Lebed will not be a long-term one. Alliance will break up sooner or later. The reason of the split will be that Lebed will be unable to keep his promises. And after the second tour of elections Yeltsin, as politician, will not personal problem, Gambar believes. Yeltsin will not nominate himself for Presidential elections for the third term and he will not need Lebed as today. Due to these reasons alliance Yeltsin-Lebed will not be a long-term one.

As far as Russia's further policy towards Azerbaijan is concerned, this course is mostly determined, Gambar said. Russia pursues the policy of strengthening of its influence in Azerbaijan, policy of further "integration" of Azerbaijan into the CIS. That is why one should not expect any sharp changes in Moscow's policy towards Azerbaijan, Isa Gambar believes.

Azerbaijan: Possibility of Progress in Karabakh Settlement

LD2406170496 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1543 GMT 24 Jun 96

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, June 24 (Interfax) - It is not ruled out that "certain advances in military-technical aspects of the Karabakh settlement" will be reached during the next round of Armenian-Azerbaijani negotiations scheduled for early July in Stockholm, a top-ranking official from Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry told Interfax.

Assessing the talks on Nagorno-Karabakh held last week in Moscow, the diplomat said that though they have not brought any sensible results, the process of the discussion on the military-technical issues "inspires certain optimism."

The Armenian party was forced to recognize the need to involve military experts in the future negotiations, he said.

He reminded that Baku persists in a wide involvement of military experts at the stage of a detailed development of military-technical aspects of a draft political agreement between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Implementation of the military-technical measures, including liberation of occupied lands and their demilitarization, "may hang in mid-air" without participation of military experts, he said.

Azerbaijan: Aliyev Receives Visiting Turkish Army Chief of Staff

NC2406210696 Baku TURAN in English
1316 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/24.06.96/TURAN—Today the president of Azerbaijan Heydar Aliyev has received the Chief of the General Head-quarter of the Armed Forces of Turkey Ismail Karadayi who is in Baku with an official three-day visit.

"Your visit in Baku is new step in the development of bilateral fraternal relations between our countries. This visit is very important for us," Aliyev said greeting the guest.

"We must use rich military experience of Turkey in case of strengthening of defence ability of Azerbaijan," Aliyev noted.

Karadayi said that it was his first visit to Azerbaijan and he expressed sorry that he could not visit Baku earlier.

Geydar Aliyev noted that after gaining the independence by Azerbaijan the relations with Turkey became of first priority. He said that today positions of the two countries coincide in all questions and the two states support each other in the international arena.

Then the meeting was held behind the closed doors.

* June 6-11 the Defence Minister of Azerbaijan Sefer Abiyev visited Turkey and where he signed an agreement on cooperation in the military sphere between the two states.

Azerbaijan: Aliyev, Turkish Military Chief Hold Talks

LD2406162996 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1509 GMT 24 Jun 96

[By Sevindzh Abdullayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BAKU, June 24 (Itar-Tass) — Azerbaijan favours friendly and versatile relations with Turkey and is prepared to use Turkish experience to strengthen its own defence capability, Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev told Turkish General Staff chief Ismail Karadayi who arrived in Baku on a two-day visit.

Aliyev said he considers Karadayi's visit as an important one.

On the whole, his meeting with Karadayi was purely a protocol one. However, confidential sources said that during the Turkish military chief's visit, both sides will discuss various issues connected with military and technical cooperation between the two countries.

An agreement to this effect was signed by Karadayi and Azerbaijani Defence Minister Sefer Epiyev during his visit to Ankara on June 11.

Azerbaijan: Aliyev Frees, Deports Turkish Journalist

LD2406185396 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1540 GMT 24 Jun 96

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Anna Kovaleva, Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Boris Yunanov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Geydar Aliyev passed a decision to free and to deport Turkish journalist Isa Yashar Tezel, who was involved in the trial of Azerbaijan's ex-prime minister, Panakh Guseynov.

Aliyev announced his decision during his meeting with heads of administrations of the Turkish provinces of Igdyr and Melekli, who handed over a petition asking the Azerbaijani president to free the Turkish journalist. About 5,000 Turkish citizens have signed this petition.

IF NOTE: Isa Yashar Tezel, a reporter of the Turkish radio, was arrested on April 16 in Baku together with Guseynov, the two being in the same car at the time. Tezel was taken to prison, Azerbaijan's prosecutor's office instituted criminal proceedings against Tezel on three articles of the republic's Criminal Code, Article 189 - resistance to police, Article 187 - concealment of stolen state funds in especially large amounts, Article 87 - concealment of a state crime.

Georgia

Georgia: Shevardnadze on Economy, Russian Election

LD2406123196 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0504 GMT 24 Jun 96

[Regular Monday studio interview with Georgian President Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Nato Oniani—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Mr. President, last week was busy with economic issues: an expanded government session summed up five months' results of the country's economic and financial situation. A separate session discussed the issues of vine-growing and wine production. Georgia was once famous for vine-growing, but now it is in a deplorable state. A very important event in Georgia's economic life was the opening of a refurbished Tbilisi airport, which meets international standards.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you. From last week's economic events, the liberalization of bread prices remained the subject of systematic care and special monitoring by the leadership. The process has been proceeding in a normal and quiet manner for the tenth day now. We can say that this step is yet another convincing example of the correct implementation of economic reforms.

According to operational information received from all regions of Georgia, the price of bread, depending on the type of bread, remains stable and virtually unchanged. According to the information by the Ministry of Foodstuff and Agriculture, there are enough wheat and flour supplies in the country. The supplies are systematically replenished, thus creating conditions for retaining stable prices. In the conditions of the liberalization of bread prices, a rise in the price of consumer goods has not been noticed. On the contrary, in the period between 15-21 June, the price of foodstuffs fell by 6.5 percent, and in the previous month, following a slight increase, the price of products other than foodstuffs remained unchanged. By and large, the laws on trading with bread are being observed. [passage omitted]

Last week, an expanded government session summed up the economic situation in the country for the last five months. It was stressed at the session that there were signs of advancement and definite progress in the economy at a microeconomic level which was reflected in the stability of the national currency, the lari, the state budget revenues, as well as in the growth of industrial output. [passage omitted]

Small- and medium-size businesses must be established. This would be a decisive factor for the establishment of economic relations of a new type, including the settlement of such an acute social problem as employment.

According to the information for June, compared with May, a certain progress has been made in the speed of production. In the first half of June, industrial goods worth 26 million lari were produced, exceeding by 32 percent the production results in a similar period in May. [passage omitted]

In the second half of June, in the branches of the Department for Industry, production output grew by approximately 33 percent compared with the previous half. Production output doubled in metallurgy, including the Rustavi metallurgical factory, where the production output tripled.

Of course, the state budget still remains a key problem. The current volume of the state budget provides us with realistic possibilities to fulfill the central and local budgets successfully. [passage omitted]

In the last three weeks of June, the state budget gained revenues worth 12 million lari through tax payments. According to tax services, this will make it possible to fulfill the plan for six months. According to information from the Finance Ministry, last week there was considerable growth in average daily revenues in central budget which is 760 lari per day. We could not have dreamed of such results last year. Moreover, this index is expected to grow by the end of June, which will guarantee that the revenue for June will be fulfilled.

The issue of tax payments to the state budget must be resolved. Local budgets owe central budget a sum in excess of 5 million lari. This vicious practice must be ended.

The issue of establishing the Ministry of Transport was also discussed at the government session and was put on the agenda. This has become necessary in order to speed up the development of the country's domestic transport network in the conditions of integrating the country's transport system into international communications system taking into consideration the experience of the developed countries' transport network. This was also discussed at the government session. A relevant draft law has been presented to the Georgian Parliament alongside a draft law on establishing the Heat and Power Ministry. I am sure that Parliament will support these initiatives.

Opening a reconstructed Tbilisi airport was an important event in the development of air transport. The airport meets international standards. In fact, this is a new airport altogether. The participation of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD] in reconstructing the airport, financing, and implementing it is a clear example for attracting foreign investments and credits.

Last week, a special session of vineyards and wine specialists was devoted to the development of vineyards and wine production. The session discussed ways of overcoming difficulties in the sphere, organizing this year's vine crop, widening the market. [passage omitted]

A decision was made at the session to set up a special state commission in order to eradicate problems in the sphere. This is my report of last week's economic activities.

[Oniani] Mr. Shevardnadze, the Russian events, following the first round of presidential elections, as to be expected, were in last week's center of interest.

[Shevardnadze] I would like to make a short comment in this connection. Of course, the Russian elections are in the center of attention of the entire world. I would like to stress one aspect here: Russian President Yeltsin did everything at this, I would say, crucial stage, for the victory of democracy and the course of reforms. If we judge by the personnel reshuffle which he implemented—unprecedented for such a moment—by doing this, he dispelled every illusion that the elections will be wrecked.

Everybody should comprehend that a change of the course in Russia, of the situation that Russia is currently in, will be disastrous for the country and others will not be in a better situation either.

[Oniani] Thank you; and finally: Last week, at negotiations between the Chisinau and Tiraspol sides, the status of Dniester was defined: a state territorial formation within a single Republic of Moldova, this is how it has been called. With this step ends a six-year round of negotiations. I think that the results have been good and fruitful.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you. The initial encouraging results of the settlement of the Georgian-Ossetian and Moldova's Dniester issues, a peace settlement in Chechnya, currently under way at President Yeltsin's initiative, point to the fact that a long-coveted tendency of diffusing tension in hot spots on the former Soviet territory has started. Of course, international organizations are actively supporting this process.

I think the time has come for the Abkhaz issue to be also resolved. My impression is such that Abkhaz leaders can comprehend that it is time we start thinking about and negotiating the problem of a settlement. If on 3 July, Russia votes for Yeltsin, the process of settlement of conflicts will be carried out fast—such is my deep trust.

Georgia: Defense Minister Comments on Grachev, Trip to Moscow

LD2206211096 Moscow NTV in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Jun 96

[Report by Zviad Geneslidze and Zurab Dvali; from the "Segodnya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] RIA reports that Pavel Grachev has decided to go to his home village, Rvy, in Tula Region, where his mother lives. He did not say how long he would spend there with his wife and son. Incidentally, there are some who think that Grachev may turn up in Georgia later. This report from Tbilisi.

(Vakhtang Kabashidze), press secretary of the president of Georgia, said at a briefing for journalists that the Republic was following events in Russia carefully and that he considered President Boris Yeltsin's recent decisions were, to all appearances, in keeping with the requirements of Russia. The Tbilisi authorities continue to see Yeltsin as the guarantor of the development of democratic processes in Russia. However, the journalists also wanted to know the position of the authorities on Pavel Grachev's remarks published in the Georgian press, that he had a lot of friends in the defense ministries of the former Soviet republics and could work in them after his resignation.

Kabashidze referred journalists to Georgian Defense Minister Vardiko Nadibaidze on Grachev's possible appearance in Tbilisi.

[Begin Kabashidze recording] I am not Grachev's godfather. Everyone knows that Grachev's godfather is Nadibaidze. [end recording]

Nadibaidze had this to say in reply to the same question.

[Begin Nadibaidze recording] Remember that for four years he was defense minister of the Russian Federation under the most difficult conditions. Naturally, he has vast experience, vast experience, and he did a lot to help us build the Army. Of course, if he wants to help we will be delighted to receive his help. [end recording]

The defense minister expressed this opinion at a briefing given on the results of the visit by a Georgian military delegation to Moscow to discuss equipping the Army. Nadibaidze again categorically denied his involvement in political events in Moscow in the past few days at the briefing and made it clear that while he was not demanding a public apology from General Lebed for his scandalous remarks, he would nonetheless be delighted to receive one.

Georgia: Work Begins on Defining Dagestan-Georgia Border

LD2106225496 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1119 GMT 21 Jun 96

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gadzhi Shamov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Makhachkala, 21 Jun — The Dagestani section of the border between Russia and Georgia extends for about 150 km, and great preparatory work needs to be done on its official definition. One of the first stages is delimitation or demarcation of the state border, work which includes a detailed description of the line the border takes and charting of the border in accordance with the treaty which has been concluded between the two sides. The press center of the State Council and Government of Dagestan has announced that the commission on delimitation of the Russo-Georgian state border has arrived in Makhachkala to carry on this work. The commission includes representatives of both countries' foreign ministries, defense ministries, border guards, cartographers, and surveyors.

The participants in the commission meeting examined key documents which will be used as a basis for establishing the principles which will determine the precise line of the Russo-Georgian state border in Tsumadinskiy [Agvali District] in Dagestan.

The sides put forward their own proposals on the issues discussed and came to the unanimous view that the border should be a transparent one, which maintains the existing friendly relations between Russia and Georgia and between the local peoples living on both sides of the border.

A study of the initial documentation will take additional time. Clarification and agreement of the line will be followed by a second stage—demarcation and final establishment of the border.

Georgia: Parliament Ratifies Cooperation Treaty With Azerbaijan

AU2506093196 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 18 Jun 96 p 2

["Georgian Parliament Decree 'On Ratification of the Treaty on Strengthening Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Security Between Georgia and the Republic of Azerbaijan'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Georgian Parliament decrees:

To ratify the Treaty of 8 March 1996 "On Strengthening Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Security between Georgia and the Republic of Azerbaijan."

[Signed] Vakhtang Qolbaia, deputy chairman of the Georgian Parliament.
[Issued] Tbilisi, 12 June 1996.

Estonia

Estonia: Republican Union of Russian Citizens Opposes 3 Jul Runoff

LD2106131996 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0900 GMT 21 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The Estonian republican union of Russian citizens has protested at the decision to stage the second round of presidential elections on 3 July.

A statement distributed today points out that the Russian Government's jurisdiction does not extend to dozens of countries where hundreds of thousands of Russian citizens live. For them 3 July remains a working day and, as polling stations in these countries open only at the diplomatic missions of the Russian Federation, the opportunity for hundreds of thousands of fellow citizens to take part in the voting is reduced to a minimum.

Estonia: Ex-USSR Internal Passports Valid as ID Documents for Aliens

LD2106130796 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1100 GMT 21 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The ex-USSR internal passports, which record one's permanent registered address in the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] will be valid inside Estonia even after 12 July [deadline for aliens' residence documents] as identification documents for aliens. This is what Interior Minister Mart Rask said today. He told a news conference that under the regulations established by the government in December of last year the ex-USSR passports that record a registered address will be valid inside the country as identification documents until a residence permit is issued to the alien.

Estonia: Government Press Office Denies Leaking State Secrets

WS2106093096 Tallinn BNS in English 1813 GMT 20 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Jun 20, BNS — The government press office denied accusations Thursday that it had made state secrets public in a book on Estonia's current situation and government structure.

The claims were brought by the POSTIMEES daily newspaper, which published excerpts of the book in its front-page article in the Thursday edition. The excerpts included detailed plans of the structure and usage of the defense forces in a war situation as well as data about the national security police.

The paper said security police and military officials had slammed the government bureau over revealing data which was meant to be kept classified.

Yet officials at the government press office said on Thursday they saw no wrongdoing in the fact of having the information published. "The booklet was meant for the public and we still think that the Estonian people have the right to get information about the work of all government institutions," the press office said in a statement.

The statement said it was particularly important for a country in transition that people knew what the different state institutions were dealing with and that this was especially important where special power structures were concerned.

The book, published by the government press office, was compiled of contributions by different ministries.

Estonia: Court Acquits Defendants in Ruble Sale Case

WS2106133696 Tallinn BNS in English 1350 GMT 21 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, Jun 21, BNS — A court in the Estonian capital on Friday acquitted a former top government adviser and two businessmen charged in connection with the sale of Soviet cash withdrawn from circulation during the June 1992 monetary reform.

The court said Tiit Pruuli, former adviser to Prime Minister Mart Laar, and businessmen Agu Kivimae and Marek Strandberg had acted in compliance with the decree on the monetary reform when they mediated the sale.

Although the deal was in conflict with the then valid regulations for currency transactions, the decree of the Monetary Reform Committee was superior to the regulations, the ruling said.

The cash was Estonia's property and the authorities had the power to rule what to do with it, the court said.

The defendants had faced a fine of 3,000 kroons (USD 250).

Charges prepared by the Estonian security police said the three men had organized the export of 1.46 billion Russian rubles in cash from the Tallinn airport between December 1992 and March 1993. The investigation was unable to find out to whom the rubles were sold.

Revelations that the government had sold a total of 2.26 billion rubles' worth of cash withdrawn during the monetary reform sparked one of the biggest political scandals in Estonia in recent years and led to the resignation of Prime Minister Mart Laar in the fall of 1994. Laar was accused of lying when he denied in public the rubles had been sold.

Laar has said the notes had to be sold because of three-digit annual inflation in Russia which rapidly brought down their value and that the sale had to be kept secret until the withdrawal of Russian troops in 1994 to avoid complications in the pullout.

Russia insists that the sale was illegal and has demanded compensation from Estonia.

Latvia

Latvia: Yeltsin, Clinton Congratulate Ulmanis on Reelection

LD2106170296 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1604 GMT 21 Jun 96

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] RIGA, June 21 (Interfax) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin and U.S. president Bill Clinton congratulated Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis Thursday upon his reelection for another three-year term.

Ulmanis received Yeltsin's congratulation from Russian Ambassador to Latvia Aleksandr Rannikh and Clinton's congratulation — from U.S. ambassador Larry Nepper, Latvian presidential press office told Interfax.

Yeltsin, in particular, expressed confidence that the development of goodneighborly relations between Russia and Latvia on the basis of mutual esteem and respect for human rights is in the true interests of both peoples.

Clinton, for his part, said that the Latvian president's desire to promote democracy and market economy is very important for Latvia's fast integration in western economic and defense institutions.

Ulmanis was reelected by 53 of the 100 deputies of the Latvian parliament on June 18. His major rival, Saimnieks Democratic Party candidate and parliament speaker Ilga Kreitusse, got 25 votes.

Latvia: Ulmanis Holds News Conference Prior to U.S. Visit

WS2406102596 Tallinn BNS in English
1311 GMT 22 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Riga/Tallinn, Jun 22, BNS — The Baltic security strategy and Latvia's prospects of joining NATO are among the main issues the Latvian president plans to discuss with the U.S. state leaders next week.

President Guntis Ulmanis made the statement at a press conference before leaving for the United States on Saturday.

As reported, the presidents of the Baltic states will begin Monday a four-day visit to the United States where they will have meetings with President Bill Clinton, Defense Secretary William Perry and a number of other top policymakers.

Presidents Lennart Meri of Estonia, Guntis Ulmanis of Latvia and Algirdas Brazauskas of Lithuania were invited to the United States to receive annual awards of the Institute of East-West Studies (IEWS), the presidential press office in Tallinn said.

The awards will be handed over Tuesday at a dinner in which New York's leading business and political figures are to take part.

On Monday, the Baltic leaders will meet presidential hopeful Bob Dole and appear at a series of meetings with leading business and media figures organized by IEWS.

On Tuesday morning they will take part in a IEWS-sponsored meeting on geo-strategic issues in New York, after which they will proceed to Washington for a meeting with Bill Clinton.

The topics to be discussed at the meeting with the U.S. president include U.S.-Baltic political, economic and security ties as well as the Baltics' integration with Western economic markets, the White House said.

The presidents will also discuss the situation that has emerged following the amendment of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe toward allowing Russia to have more armored vehicles near the Estonian and Latvian border.

A meeting with Defense Secretary William Perry is scheduled for Wednesday. On the same day the Baltic leaders will visit the Senate, the House of Representatives and the House Foreign Affairs Committee. They will also meet with the Senate leaders and leading U.S. journalists.

A reception hosted by the U.S. Baltic Foundation will follow in the evening.

The Latvian president is accompanied by a delegation of politicians and businessmen who in Ulmanis' words "will in a sense lay the basis for new economic policy between Latvia and the United States."

Ulmanis said that this trip proves the unity of the Baltic states, as only a few cases can be traced in history when broad political circles of one country simultaneously hold talks with presidents of three countries.

Latvia: Riga Offers Sea Ports for Transit of Kazakhstan's Cargo

LD2106082996 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0646 GMT 21 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] RIGA, June 21 (Interfax-BNS) — Latvian Prime Minister Andris Skele suggested that Kazakhstan should use Latvian seaports to move its goods to Western markets.

Skele made the offer at his meeting with Kazakh Ambassador to Latvia Sayat Beysenov. He also outlined the plans for expansion of Latvian seaports.

The two men discussed ways to improve bilateral relations, especially in the economy and transport. They agreed that exchange of high-level visits would serve this goal.

Beysenov said that Latvian construction businesses could join the overhaul of the infrastructure in the Kazakh city of Akmola, where the Kazakh capital will be moved from Almaty.

Latvia: Ulmanis Rejects Bill on Presidential Elections

LD2006151796 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1300 GMT 20 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The state president [Guntis Ulmanis] has decided not to promulgate a bill on the election of the state president passed by the Saeima and has asked the parliament to review it. It is expected that the document will be included on the agenda of the extraordinary session of the Saeima on 8 July.

The Saeima Judicial Commission did not support the bill. It was drafted in a hurry to prevent a state criminal, Alfreds Rubiks [former Latvian Communist Party chief], from running.

Lithuania

Lithuania: President Visits United States, To Meet With Clinton, Dole

LD2406103796 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 24 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas arrived in New York City yesterday. He expressed satisfaction with the fact that a substantial program has been prepared for his visit to the United States. Brazauskas stressed his belief that the scheduled meetings will be useful.

Today, the Lithuanian president is to meet with Bob Dole, the Republican candidate for U.S. President. He will also meet with the director of the American Jewish executive committee, journalists, and businessmen.

The most important part of Brazauskas' visit is scheduled for tomorrow: in Washington, the presidents of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia — Algirdas Brazauskas, Guntis Ulmanis, and Lennart Meri — will meet with U.S. President Bill Clinton. They will discuss cooperation and security matters as well as the integration of the Baltic countries into Western markets. Afterwards, the Baltic presidents will go to New York, where they will be presented with an award from the institute of Eastern and Western studies for strengthening the cooperation of the Baltic Sea countries, for their wise and courageous stand while building relations with Russia, and the development of bilateral relations with the United States, the BALTIC NEWS SERVICE reported.

Lithuania: Prime Minister Receives Deputy U.S. Secretary of Defense

LD2106150496 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 21 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] The government's spokesman reported that Lithuanian Prime Minister Mindaugas Stankevicius met U.S. Deputy Defense Secretary John White, who is currently on a visit to Lithuania.

The prime minister stressed during the talks that Lithuania was making efforts to participate in strengthening regional security as best it can and in developing Transatlantic cooperation in this sphere.

The prime minister also spoke about the concern voiced by his Latvian and Estonian counterparts at a meeting in Vilnius about the review of the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe [CFE] and asked that in future all the states concerned with such issues should be informed.

The representative of the Pentagon maintained that the reduction of arms agreed in Vienna was better than [words indistinct] the issue of material help to Lithuania in the sphere of defense.

Minister of National Defense Linas Linkevicius and U.S. Ambassador to Lithuania James Swihart took part in the meeting.

Lithuania: Parliament Ratifies EU Associate Membership Agreement

LD2006130796 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1120 GMT 20 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VILNIUS, 20 Jun (INTERFAX) — The Lithuanian parliament on Thursday ratified an agreement on the republic's associate membership of the European Union (EU). A total of 112 out of 141 members of the parliament voted in favor, one against and five abstained.

Lithuania signed the agreement on associate membership in the EU on 12 June 1995, in Luxembourg. The ratification of this document was delayed because foreigners' right to land ownership in Lithuania had not been legalized, this being an obligatory precondition for the agreement to go into effect.

The Lithuanian parliament Thursday introduced an appropriate amendment to the constitution which legitimized the sale of land to foreigners from countries belonging to European and Trans-Atlantic organizations.

The Lithuanian government declared that membership of the EU enjoys priority in the republic's foreign and domestic policy and there are no alternatives. Lithuania presented its official statement on entering the EU late in 1995 and hopes to reach its goal by 2000.

The agreement on Lithuania's associate membership will go into effect after the parliaments of all 15 member countries of the European Union ratify it.

The European Parliament and the parliaments of Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Austria, and Ireland have already ratified the agreement on Lithuania's associate membership of the EU, the Department for European Integration within Lithuania's Foreign Ministry told Interfax.

Lithuania: Seimas Ratifies European Association Treaty

LD2006202596 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 20 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Lithuanian Seimas today ratified the European Association treaty, with 112 Seimas members voting in favor, one against, and five abstaining, the ELTA news agency reports.

Together with other Baltic countries, Lithuania signed the treaty in Luxembourg on 12 June last year. After the ratification of the treaty, association with the European Union, with its member countries has in effect been established. [passage omitted]

The European Association treaty will regulate all economic and commercial relations between the countries, it will sponsor the free flow of information, ideas and investment; it will liberalize trade based on the principles of the World Trade Organization. This is yet another step toward Lithuania's integration into European structures aspiring to become a full member of the European Union. [passage omitted]

The treaty envisages a six-year transitional period with a deadline of 31 December 1999. [passage omitted].

Lithuania: Vilnius Signs PHARE Program Memorandum

LD21061612[illegible] Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 0830 GMT 21 Jun 96

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The European Union (EU) PHARE [Poland-Hungary — Action for Economic Reconstruction] program and Lithuania have signed a financial memorandum for this year.

Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys and head of the EU delegation to Lithuania (Henrik Shmigeliov) signed the document on Thursday [20 June].

According to the memorandum, the PHARE program will allocate to Lithuania 47 million Ecu or $58 million in free loan. The funds should arrive in Lithuania in a couple of months and will be used to sponsor various PHARE projects in Lithuania. The approved PHARE budget will be accessible to the country until the end of 1998.

The PHARE program is granting free aid to Lithuania in a few sectors: The economy, the raising of employee qualifications, and integration into Europe.

Lithuania: Diplomat: Baltic NATO Membership Beneficial for Stability

LD2006153196 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 0800 GMT 20 Jun 96

[FBIS Translated Text] NATO membership for the Baltic states and close cooperation between the Alliance and Russia are factors which are not only compatible but also mutually beneficial in strengthening each other, which would help to avoid confrontations in Europe, a high-ranking Lithuanian diplomat has said.

Vygaudas Usackas, head of the political department of the Foreign Ministry, discussed the statement by Sergey Karaganov, the Russian President's foreign affairs aide, which said that the Baltic states would rather benefit from close cooperation between Russia and NATO, and not from a confrontation between military blocks in Europe.

It will be a rather uncomfortable position for a small country to find itself in, between the hammer and the anvil, one of the most important authors of the Russian political doctrine said in Moscow on Tuesday.

However, the Lithuanian official noted that the metaphor of the hammer and anvil does not correspond to the present reality. He added that the membership of the Baltic states in NATO should be interpreted as an increase in the stability of the region neighboring Russia.

According to Mr. Usackas, cooperation between NATO, its partner countries, and Russia in peace implementation efforts in Bosnia witnesses that such cooperation helps to strengthen European stability.

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